



SLINGSHOT

HEAL FROM THE ROOTS

Restorative Justice for Sasha
& Richard

By Joey

In early November, an act of transphobic violence in Oakland set off a chain of public outcry, solidarity, and criminal prosecution. The victim, an 18-year-old high school student, was discharged from the hospital at the end of November, while their attacker has been charged with multiple felony counts and faces a long prison term if convicted. Now that the dust has settled, it's time to think about the role not just of gender, but of race and the prison-industrial complex, as well as alternative responses to community violence.

On November 4th, Sasha Fleischman was sleeping on the AC Transit bus when Richard Thomas, a 16-year-old Oakland High School student, allegedly set their skirt on fire. Sasha, who identifies outside the gender binary and uses plural pronouns (they, them, their), spent most of November in the hospital, undergoing extensive skin grafts, and has a long recovery period ahead; an online fundraising page has already raised over \$31,000 to help cover the costs.

For better and for worse, Sasha's story has attracted some attention outside the Bay Area—even internationally. For better, because it's important that people realize shit like this happens even in "progressive" enclaves like Oakland, and because people across the world (more than 700 of them so far) have shown

wrong pronouns for Sasha, repeated their legal name while casting their chosen name or pronoun in quotation marks, or referred to them as a "skirt-wearing teen," as if their attire were the problem. Some reporters have just been lazy and obstinate, identifying Sasha as a gender, quoting their friends as saying Sasha uses plural pronouns—and then continuing to use male pronouns in the very next sentence. NBC Bay Area even went as far as to describe the pronoun *they* as "a purposely confusing word to show others what it feels like to be confused by gender," casting all folks who use plural

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axis of oppression
only to join with the
state in reinforcing
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pronouns as conspiring to confound the cisgender public.

Even more frustratingly, the coverage doesn't seem to be reaching those who need to know most: other high school students. I work as a sexual health counselor at a school not far from Sasha's. I'm queer and out at work, and I often



Plaything of the Rich

A HISTORY OF US HEALTH INSURANCE

by A

I am half-Canadian and half-American. I grew up mostly in Canada and thus have always had public-run health care in my life. I knew nothing about health insurance companies and all of their fine-print and evil until recently. Since coming to the US, I have not yet come into close contact with the American system since I have been mostly healthy aside from a baseball-related injury here and there.

However, my mother, who is my Canadian half, has had much more difficulty in recent years. This August she found out she has breast cancer for the third time and will be required to go through chemotherapy (something she is enduring right now with amazing resiliency), a double-mastectomy, and then radiation. As this process has advanced, she has found a few deficiencies of the Canadian system: certain medications are not 100% covered in Canada (although alternatives are), and she has been frustrated on

discharged from the hospital at the end of November while their attacker has been charged with multiple felony counts and faces a long prison term if convicted. Now that the dust has settled, it's time to think about the role not just of gender, but of race and the prison-industrial complex, as well as alternative responses to community violence.

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For better and for worse, Sasha's story has attracted some attention outside the Bay Area—even internationally. For better, because it's important that people realize shit like this happens even in "progressive" enclaves like Oakland, and because people across the world (more than 700 of them so far) have shown support for Sasha on their fundraising page in the form of donations and kind comments. Sasha's story has brought attention—some of it positive—to the experiences and struggles of folks who live outside the gender binary.

For worse, media coverage has been predictably abysmal. Most outlets have used the

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Even more frustratingly, the coverage doesn't seem to be reaching those who need to know most: other high school students. I work as a sexual health counselor at a school not far from Sasha's. I'm queer and out at work, and I often get to talk with queer, trans, and gender-variant students about their experiences, their challenges, and their relationships in this heteronormative, gender-enforcing world. Some students at the school know Sasha, or know Sasha's friends, and I worry about how stories

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BEYOND FATALISM

Reframing Climate

By Jesse D. Palmer

The climate is changing before our eyes. In Berkeley, we've only had 5 inches of rain in a year and the weather is nothing like it was just 25 years ago when I moved here. And everywhere else, we're seeing extreme weather events — burning heat, bitter cold, and violent storms. Although everyone notices and almost everyone realizes these changes are related to human CO2 emissions, we continue with business as usual. Climate chaos risks a mass extinction, crop failure, starvation, and social collapse, yet there is no sense of a popular

emissions, everyone and everything has to change, but it's hard to say what one can do right now to bring this about.

Sensitive people who can't stop caring are gradually going mad from the contradictions — driven to hopeless isolated acts of vandalism or retreating into the ineffectual self-centered survivalism of backyard gardening or going back to the land. But none of these acts does anything to effectively attack the actual problem: that a tiny number of powerful people are running everything to concentrate wealth; that in the process, they have destabilized



Fighting of the Rich

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I am half-Canadian and half-American. I grew up mostly in Canada and thus have always had public-run health care in my life. I knew nothing about health insurance companies and all of their fine-print and evil until recently. Since coming to the US, I have not yet come into close contact with the American system since I have been mostly healthy aside from a baseball-related injury here and there.

However, my mother, who is my Canadian half, has had much more difficulty in recent years. This August she found out she has breast cancer for the third time and will be required to go through chemotherapy (something she is enduring right now with amazing resiliency), a double-mastectomy, and then radiation. As this process has advanced, she has found a few deficiencies of the Canadian system: certain medications are not 100% covered in Canada (although alternatives are), and she has been frustrated on occasion with some of the specialists who got caught up in surgery and could not attend to her right away. However, the bottom line is this: with all the other shit she has to deal with surrounding hospitals, and doctors and treatment and feeling good about herself, she has never once had to worry if she would be covered or if she would get a big bill at the end of it. In early 2014, when she is done with all of this, the total direct cost for having withstood all of this will be \$0.

That is an amazing thing. Myself, on the other hand, living in the States now and not having a "real" job with a good income nor an employer than can supply me with health care, well... my plan is simply not to get sick. Even with the much-discussed Obamacare plan, I personally still have no other option.

Since January 1st, 2014, millions of people in the United States have had access to health care that they previously thought impossible. Nearly forty-million people who previously

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**Resistance has to flow
from our hearts and be
inspired by our humanity,
excitement, engagement
and direct participation.**

Rather, we've fallen into a psychological rut in which many people seem to have given up on the idea that our species will survive or can solve such an overwhelming problem. We're left with hip cynicism that fetishizes the Apocalypse, or, more commonly, resignation and denial. The problem isn't a lack of proposals, but rather that cutting emissions on a global scale is such a big project that any individual action appears meaningless. To eliminate CO2

emissions, everyone and everything has to change, but it's hard to say what one can do right now to bring this about.

Sensitive people who can't stop caring are gradually going mad from the contradictions — driven to hopeless isolated acts of vandalism or retreating into the ineffectual self-centered survivalism of backyard gardening or going back to the land. But none of these acts does anything to effectively attack the actual problem: that a tiny number of powerful people are running everything to concentrate wealth; that in the process, they have destabilized the ecosystems on which we all depend for our very survival; and that checks on their power by civil society are lacking.

The invisible hand of the market, left to its own devices and in control of the world's governments, will not reduce reliance on fossil fuels since the market on its own doesn't build in the costs of fossil fuel dependence. While some climate change is already inevitable, an inspired widespread movement can still make a difference and avert the most disastrous climate disruption and human social collapse.

It's time to shake off this bad dream and say fuck this shit — let's DO something. When I look at my daughter's face and think about her future, I realize that life is too enjoyable and the world we inherited too beautiful to let it go down the drain so some oil companies can make a short-term buck.

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SLINGSHOT

Slingshot is an independent radical newspaper published in Berkeley since 1988.

People often claim that the Bay Area exists in a bubble. This is a little unfair considering the United States behaves as if the rest of the world doesn't exist. Many maps erroneously depict the US as an island, whereas the Bay actually takes into account dynamic world issues and how to make changes locally. But progress on making radical change keeps getting more difficult locally as economic stratification becomes more dramatic. The war on poor people is most noticeably in San Francisco but can be seen spreading into Oakland and Berkeley as well. Yuppies preoccupied with material wealth aren't likely to get involved in grassroots social justice organizing.

Our offices here in Berkeley recently received complaints from neighbors about noise performance artists and the city required us to get a business license after operating the Infoshop for 20 years. Prior to 2014, we were still zoned as a massage parlor. Spaces operating off main street without permits allow radical organizations to flourish with squats, street parties and ruckus that breaks free from the demands of money and government to provide direct experience and action. When compared with the affluence and pressures of the business world it appears as "A town of fucking fantasy". We hope our roots help create a style of rabid and organic journalism to help make being conscientious rewarding.

Every issue the painful topics of the world gets ingested by collective members. Sometimes the pain gets directed inward while working on a paper. Internal strife plagues every project and often seems an antidote to reaching a goal. A cool quote surfaced amidst the fray of hurt feelings and bitterness while we made this issue: "Tyrants don't mind if you hate them - Just as long as you don't love each other." It's one thing to forget to go after the people and organizations actively killing people and nature by giving energy to so much drama. But to forget to marvel and appreciate the people in our lives is a failed opportunity. Have patience with your allies. The mistakes people make are often the strongest teachers they have in making a new world.

During hard moments, it is important to constantly check-in and speak up if your needs

By Jesse D. Palmer

Right now if you Google "Slingshot Organizer" the first thing you get is a sponsored link to purchase the 2012 *Slingshot* Organizer from the Walmart website. A few weeks ago a link to this search result went viral on the internet and *Slingshot* got lots of emails from horrified people wondering *why* we would sell the organizer to Walmart.

Slingshot collective does not sell the *Slingshot* organizer to Walmart and there is no reason to think that anyone can walk into a brick-and-mortar Walmart and purchase a *Slingshot* organizer. We think the Walmart website lists the organizer for sale because their computer automatically lists every book that is available through the book distribution network on its website.

The experience of having numerous heartless corporate websites like Walmart, Amazon, Barnes & Noble and even Sears (!) list our volunteer-published radical organizer — without any of them asking us or our collective ever mailing any of them a copy — demonstrates how capitalism run on auto-pilot by computers works. The process of homogenization and alienation of products from the people and communities that produce them is powerful and disorientating.

We are certainly annoyed and embarrassed

that these websites list the organizer, and we suspect that most of them would be annoyed and embarrassed too, if they knew about it, given the scandalous anti-corporate contents of the organizer. There were protests nationwide on Black Friday against the appallingly low wages and poor working conditions at Walmart and we're pretty sure Walmart wouldn't enjoy the organizer's suggestions on occupying banks or resisting police repression.

Slingshot collective distributes most of the



organizers we print directly to a network of infoshops, food co-ops, and small independent bookstores that we've built relationships with over the last 20 years. We also distribute about 20% of the organizers through the following small, independent distributors: AK Press, Buy Olympia, Small Changes, Microcosm, Pioneers Press, Vision Works, Last Gasp, Active Distro (London) and Kersplebedeb (Canada).

All of these distributors are collectives or

small mom-and-pop operations that have long traditions in the alternative / counterculture scene. Some of these distributors have relationships with larger book distribution companies which is how we think the *Slingshot* ended up on the Walmart and other corporate websites. It is hard to know if making the organizer available to independent bookstores beyond our own network through distributors is worth the price of also making the organizer available to the big corporate players who are systematically destroying independent stores. Capitalism and dehumanizing high technology present countless lose-lose propositions like this — most of them a lot more oppressive and environmentally destructive than listing *Slingshot* on a website.

A few years ago, a Borders bookstore sent *Slingshot* collective an order for some *Slingshot* organizers. We decided at a meeting that we would refuse to fill orders from big business fucks — because we want to support independent bookstores and alternatives to the capitalist machine. While we have never sent organizers to any big corporate entity, it is hard to keep their computers from sweeping us up along with every other product out there.

We hope folks who use the organizer will ignore the corporate websites and get an organizer from a small collective near you. Doing so supports that collective as well as our collective.



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During hard moments, it is important to constantly check-in and speak up if your needs include self-care, stepping back and discomfort. Collectives can prioritize listening and support even when projects are under pressure. When folks call-out others in the collective, it isn't necessarily personal. It can be out of mutual respect and the need to have a reciprocal relationship to the collective where people feel they can be heard. It can benefit the entire collective to hear criticism.

With the New Year past, we still have quite a few 2014 *Slingshot* Organizers lying around that we could use help getting to people who want them. If there are events you want to table for, a cool bookstore that doesn't have it or even if you know a homeless youth organization that we should donate copies to, let us know.

Slingshot is always looking for new writers, artists, editors, photographers, translators, distributors, etc. to make this paper. If you send something written, please be open to editing.

Editorial decisions are made by the *Slingshot* Collective but not all the articles reflect the opinions of all collective members. We welcome debate and constructive criticism.

Thanks to the people who made this: Aaron,

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By Jesse and Joey

If you look at September 8 – 14 in the pocket *Slingshot* Organizer this year, you'll see little drawings of penises shooting cum, bubbles, lightning bolts and what looks like cursive (but we're not sure). When the collective saw these drawings while we were making the organizer this summer, some members of the collective questioned whether we should publish them because the drawings could be triggering for people who have been hurt by people with penises. Other collective members defended publishing the drawings on various grounds: one member suggested that they could help folks who had suffered from heterosexism, by

and there is no doubt that the social meaning of penis drawings — as well as sexual repression and patriarchy — are complex and warrant a lot more discussion. We invite you to write in with your ideas.

When we decided to publish the images, a number of people believed that it was okay to be controversial and that having an organizer that pushes buttons and makes people argue would be good, even though we knew that some people might be mad at us and refuse to buy the organizer because of the drawings. Many people liked the idea of honoring the artist's contribution. Others liked the art itself.

The Dick Week artist is a queer cis man who works as a sex educator. He wrote a long

different artists, authors and editors as possible in the process that creates the annual *Slingshot* organizer. We give 26 four-week sections to 26 different artists for the pocket and spiral organizers. Doing so gives the organizer the chaotic *Slingshot* look and seeks to include lots of different perspectives, politics, and styles. So one four-week period might be full of pot leaves and butterflies, and the next might be vegan straight edge with skulls and barbed wire. This reflects the diverse reality of the counter-culture.

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Thanks to the people who made this: Aaron, Carey, Eggplant, Emily, Enola, Finn, Glenn, Jack, Jesse, Joey, Judy, Julia, Mama Gramps, Soren, Stephski, Terri, torn, Vanessa, Zander and all the authors and artists.

Slingshot New Volunteer Meeting

Volunteers interested in getting involved with *Slingshot* can come to the new volunteer meeting on February 23 at 4 pm at the Long Haul in Berkeley (see below.)

Article Deadline & Next Issue Date

Submit your articles for issue 116 on March 29 2014 at 3 p.m.

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Circulation Information

Subscriptions to *Slingshot* are free to prisoners, low income and anyone in the USA with a *Slingshot* Organizer, or \$1 per issue or back issue. International \$3 per issue. Outside the Bay Area we'll mail you a free stack of copies if you give them out for free. Each envelope is one lb. (8 copies) -- let us know how many envelopes you want. In the Bay Area, pick up copies at Long Haul or Bound Together Books in SF.

controversy

By Jesse and Joey

If you look at September 8 – 14 in the pocket *Slingshot* Organizer this year, you'll see little drawings of penises shooting cum, bubbles, lightning bolts and what looks like cursive (but we're not sure). When the collective saw these drawings while we were making the organizer this summer, some members of the collective questioned whether we should publish them because the drawings could be triggering for people who have been hurt by people with penises. Other collective members defended publishing the drawings on various grounds: one member suggested that they could help folks who had suffered from heterosexism, by "challeng[ing] people's attitudes toward sexuality and nudity." Another collective member voiced that it's important to show penises in a non-normative way, while in a similar vein the artist argued that "insofar as we project onto them violence because of our experiences with heteropatriarchy and gender-based oppression and violence, dicks can also be queer and radical." After a week of discussion, it seemed like most of the collective was for publishing the drawings, so they went in the organizer. Some folks had suggested running a trigger warning, but that idea ultimately died before it went to press.

Soon after we began mailing out organizers, we got a few emails questioning inclusion of the drawings, including an angry email from Grenoble, France: "Are you fucking morons? Don't you know that dicks are drawn everywhere already as a . . . symbol in the patriarchal society? . . . I can't believe nobody pointed out to you that there is no week decorated with pussy drawings. You reinforce patriarchy by making dicks funny, visible, legitimate and pussies mysterious and plain invisible . . . I accept dicks in my calendar only surrounded by pairs of scissors, with a big SCUM above."

These emails sparked more discussion on our internal email list. Each individual is going to understand the penis drawings differently

and there is no doubt that the social meaning of penis drawings — as well as sexual repression and patriarchy — are complex and warrant a lot more discussion. We invite you to write in with your ideas.

When we decided to publish the images, a number of people believed that it was okay to be controversial and that having an organizer that pushes buttons and makes people argue would be good, even though we knew that some people might be mad at us and refuse to buy the organizer because of the drawings. Many people liked the idea of honoring the artist's contribution. Others liked the art itself.

The Dick Week artist is a queer cis man who works as a sex educator. He wrote a long response to the emails in which he stated that he was not trying to reinforce patriarchy with

the current political context makes clear how the sexual repression that goes hand-in-hand with patriarchy seeks to restrict & control images of genitalia and sex

his drawings. He wrote: "Dicks can be oppressive. They can also be fun, silly and even liberatory. At a certain level, they're just awkward lumps of flesh." Some people in the collective proposed creating alternative art for September 8-14 for folks who didn't want to see penis art. Some felt that it was important to defend the penis art as penis-demystifying and sex-positive expression, while one member argued that the specific act (ejaculation, whether of lightning bolts or cum) is hard to depict without evoking the misogynistic trope of the cum-shot in mainstream porn. Others voiced that when a marginalized group of people has something to say about their marginal status, the collective should fucking listen.

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different artists, authors and editors as possible in the process that creates the annual *Slingshot* organizer. We give 26 four-week sections to 26 different artists for the pocket and spiral organizers. Doing so gives the organizer the chaotic *Slingshot* look and seeks to include lots of different perspectives, politics, and styles. So one four-week period might be full of pot leaves and butterflies, and the next might be vegan straight edge with skulls and barbed wire. This reflects the diverse reality of the counter-culture.

When we give an artist a section of the organizer, we don't tell them what to draw. We give them a list of 10-20 historical dates for each day, and ask them to pick 1-4 to include on each day of the organizer. At the end of the messy process, we spread all the pages out on big tables and a group of whoever happens to be around looks at all the pages to make sure they look okay. Sometimes we decide to fix a few things and other times we have long philosophical/political debates about the pages, such as we did about Dick Week.

The fracas over Dick Week has led to some positive discussions within the collective. The current political context makes clear how the sexual repression that goes hand-in-hand with patriarchy seeks to restrict and control images of genitalia and sex. San Francisco just passed a law cracking down on nudity in public, and you tend not to see images of penises or vaginas in media other than porn, where they're usually objectified. We think normalizing our body parts and sex acts can attack sexual repression and patriarchy.

And yet, we recognize that publishing drawings of penises or any other genitalia is still controversial and, like all cultural production, is subject to interpretation and may not be viewed as the artist intends. If you feel strongly about Dick Week, we'd love to hear from you. And if you have a knack for drawing genitals, come lend a hand at an organizer meeting.

IM NOT BORED WITH THE NSA IM NOT BORED WITH THE NSA IM NOT BORED WITH THE NSA

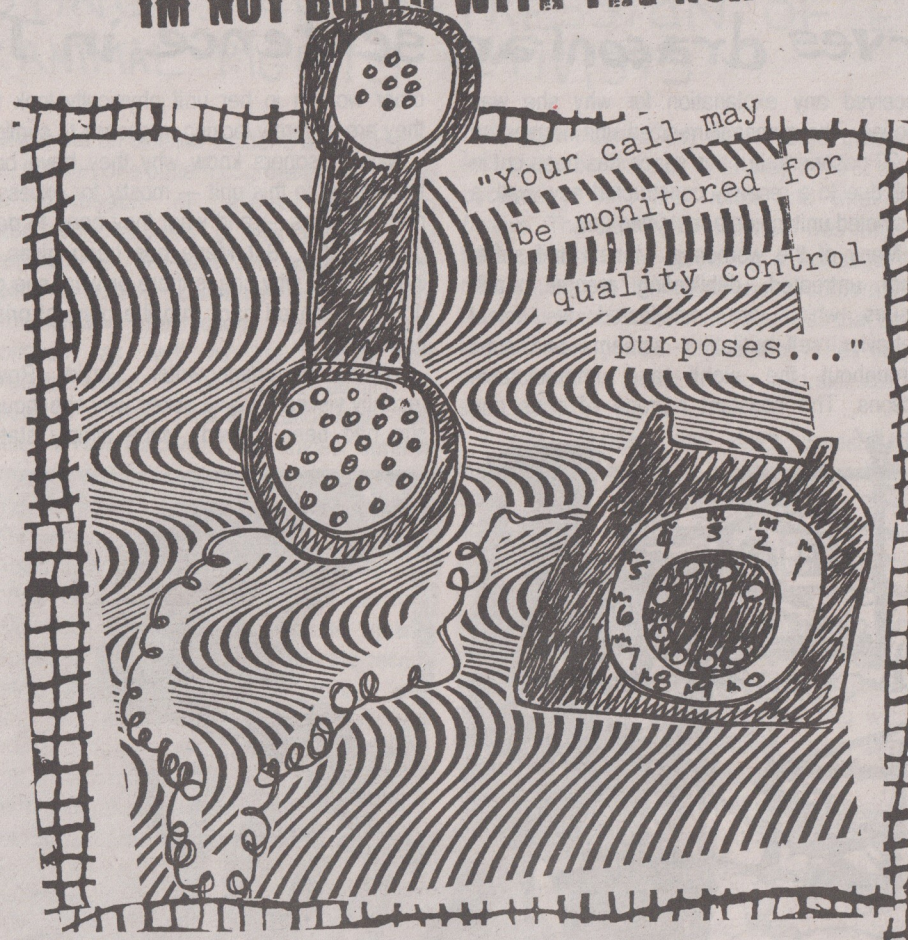
By Gilles Tom-Cruise

"Today, no telephone in America makes a call without leaving a record with the NSA. Today, no Internet transaction enters or leaves America without passing through the NSA's hands." - Edward Snowden

"One does not have to be a seer to know that there is no position so good that it cannot be outflanked by much superior forces... But in certain cases it is good to be indifferent to this sort of knowledge." - Guy Debord

Recent developments in technology have changed the way we organize political movements and that has had far-reaching effects. The new technologies have seemingly enabled a wider audience for trending movements. In the US, Occupy was one of those materializations. As much as it was a time of communion, Occupy was also a moment for recognizing the forces that dominate our lives. If it was previously unclear, there is no question now that the methods of surveillance are becoming as complex, if not more so, than the methods for transmitting information – for networking, passing fliers, organizing neighborhoods, etc. In fact, they are functionally the same. Movements that find some form online should be seen as experiments in the strengthening of Empire. We should question the role such movements play in a larger time-line and how those will be viewed and subsequently be absorbed by networks of power.

Edward Snowden's leaks affirmed what many were already suspicious of: The National Security Agency is involved in extensive data collection on Americans, while it purports to operate solely under the guise of foreign intelligence objectives. The way that this organization inserts itself into disparate networks is through the collection of communications, from cell phones, email



The NSA is engaged in a war on the American people. The NSA operates under the Department of Defense with the goal of the perpetuation of neoliberal capitalist democracy. The US Military has already said that it "[intends] to treat cyberspace as a military battleground" (New York Times). The free flow of information that was fostered in with the digital age is seen as a threat – both to commerce and accompanying US interests,

autonomy, while our private lives are being saved in massive databases. Sometimes, you have to send an email, make a phone call, find a friend. It is unclear whether we are standing on quicksand or cement. We may still have to find a nearby branch to pull ourselves out.

US government builds its case through lies, adding to the uncertainty of our position. Despite all of the leaks that prove otherwise, the agency insists that "All of the NSA's work has a foreign intelligence purpose. Our

networks. The History of the NSA proves this. Robert McChesney writes in his latest book, *Digital Disconnect*, that "The domination of the Internet by a handful of monopolists, as well as the emerging cloud structure of the Internet, is perfect for the government. It need deal with only a handful of giants to effectively control the Internet" (the Institute for Public Accuracy). Private companies generally hide behind the law. The state is there as an authority to point to when the outcomes aren't favorable. Similarly, the state will hide behind private companies when it proves convenient. Each relies on the other. In so many ways, the government is shaping the world in a way that will make it more conducive to big business. Whenever fitting, business will support this project.

Google recently mapped the once impenetrable canals of Venice, sending a man with a backpack-mounted camera to map the canals. Google cheerily responded that no one made a fuss. With the sheer volume and speed of such projects, it is never clear what is a problem and how to deal with it. In the age of hyper-surveillance, maybe our goal is to promote mystery, obscuring the truth. Certainly the institutions with power have no qualms doing the same for themselves, while exploiting our vulnerability.

With advanced tracking technologies, our positions are knowable. We do not always know what is in store for us. We know that practically anyone is accessible. But there is also the power of obscurity, which has been proved by the whistleblowers, like Edward Snowden, who have chosen to work for the American public. Snowden's leaks have been instrumental in the understanding of how the NSA collects information. The act of

time of communion, Occupy was also a moment for recognizing the forces that dominate our lives. If it was previously unclear, there is no question now that the methods of surveillance are becoming as complex, if not more so, than the methods for transmitting information – for networking, passing fliers, organizing neighborhoods, etc. In fact, they are functionally the same. Movements that find some form online should be seen as experiments in the strengthening of Empire. We should question the role such movements play in a larger time-line and how those will be viewed and subsequently be absorbed by networks of power.

Edward Snowden's leaks affirmed what many were already suspicious of: The National Security Agency is involved in extensive data collection on Americans, while it purports to operate solely under the guise of foreign intelligence objectives. The way that this organization inserts itself into disparate networks is through the collection of communications, from cell phones, email social media, etc. Mainstream media portrayals often try to ameliorate worries by repeating that what the NSA is concerned with is "metadata." It can include names, phone numbers, times of calls, email subjects, IP addresses, online searches, and more. Often this sort of data is embedded in the communication processes that we are engaged in every day. Put simply, metadata is data about data. In metadata, our complex social networks are put in an understandable form. That the government attempts to write off NSA collection of metadata as somehow not an intrusion into American privacy is laughable. The data collected by the NSA is stored long term, allowing the agency to construct intimate portraits of everyone engaging in the targeted technologies. One of the larger projects undertaken by the agency is a mapping of "social networks" of Americans – this is how the data collected and saved is being utilized.



The NSA is engaged in a war on the American people. The NSA operates under the Department of Defense with the goal of the perpetuation of neoliberal capitalist democracy. The US Military has already said that it "[intends] to treat cyberspace as a military battleground" (New York Times). The free flow of information that was fostered in with the digital age is seen as a threat – both to commerce and accompanying US interests, foreign and domestic. The paradox of the Internet is that the prospects of total control are even greater as the American public grows more dependent on the Internet (due to the relatively free communication it makes available and also due to the necessity for most to use such technology in their work lives, at least.) The US is strengthening its ability to exploit this dependency, making subjects engaged in this seemingly free flow decidedly less free.

Our postmodern lives are full of contradictory urges, which ensnare us as they open up new realms of possibility. In some ways, this is an all-too-familiar set-up. Radical struggles must remain conscious of this asymmetrical positioning that appears to dominate our lives. Openings in power are not always apparent. There is the pull between needing to communicate through accessible means and knowing that such communications are not secure. We desire privacy and

autonomy, while our private lives are being saved in massive databases. Sometimes, you have to send an email, make a phone call, find a friend. It is unclear whether we are standing on quicksand or cement. We may still have to find a nearby branch to pull ourselves out.

US government builds its case through lies, adding to the uncertainty of our position. Despite all of the leaks that prove otherwise, the agency insists that "All of the NSA's work has a foreign intelligence purpose... Our activities are centered on counterterrorism, counterproliferation and cybersecurity" (New York Times via Gawker). The spectacle is reinforced in the media portrayals of, or lack of portrayals of, such violations of privacy. Liberal apologists point to values of transparency, while the more bumbling conservative elements bring up the old "if you're not doing anything wrong, you have nothing to hide." But the fact is that the subtleties of our lives are being opened to deeper exploitation than we may know. The watchers are concerned with patterns and these patterns open themselves up to new conclusions about governing the populace.

History has shown that private companies play a large role in enabling the surveillance of US citizens: The NSA would find it harder to do its work if there were not obliging communications companies like AT&T, Sprint, Verizon, etc. to provide backdoors into their

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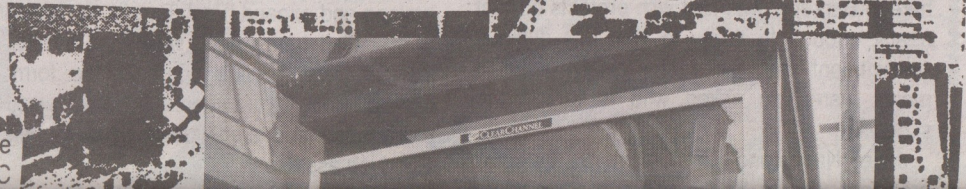
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NEW AD CAMPAIGN EXPLAINS DRONES TO SKEPTICAL AMERICAN PUBLIC

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The California Department of Corrections (CDC) has unveiled a new series of advertisements to defend Obama's drone policy from mounting public criticism. On November 5, 2013 the CDC successfully apprehended, rehabilitated and discharged over a dozen bus shelter advertisements in San Francisco.

Set against a black background, the ads feature a smartphone which has photographed a Predator drone strike in progress. On the smartphone screen a missile streaks away from the drone and crosses a cloudless blue sky. Just above the image, a new logo "Pakistan" imitates the original brand name, and a headline for the ad reads, THE NEXT BIG WAR IS ALREADY HERE.

The corrected ads came directly on the heels of several major reports from the UN, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, which criticized Obama's drone wars. Federal officials have stubbornly refused to acknowledge controversial aspects of the program, such as criteria for its kill lists or the

mounting death toll among civilians. As these operations are shrouded in secrecy, the CDC released the rehabilitated smartphone ads to assist our colleagues in the federal government and explain the benefits of drones to war-weary Americans. Such benefits include cost savings from limited personnel serving overseas, streamlined executions unimpeded by judicial oversight and reduced environmental impacts due to the short commute of drone pilots operating close to home.

The ads are currently at liberty and seem to have successfully readjusted to public life. However, these advertisements will remain under surveillance by department staff to prevent recidivism and any potential lapse into prior criminal behavior. Founded in 1994, the CDC is a private correctional facility that protects the public through the secure management, discipline, and rehabilitation of California's advertising. For more information, visit CorrectionsDepartment.org



MOVE MARIE MASON!

Eco-Warrior serves draconian sentence in Texas Hell hole

By Lilia & Peter

Marie Mason is an earth and animal liberation prisoner serving a 22-year sentence in a Fort Worth, Texas federal prison. Marie pleaded guilty in 2009 to 13 counts of property destruction, with targets such as GMO research labs, boats owned by a mink farmer, logging equipment and environmentally destructive housing developments among others. No one was injured in any of the actions.

Marie also has many years of above ground activism under her belt. She is well known for her work as an Earth First! and IWW organizer, and as a musician, writer, and artist.

Marie is recognized as a Green Scare prisoner due to the application of a federal terrorism enhancement provision to ensure a long prison term, and for the FBI to boast of another successful "terrorism" prosecution. She is, unfortunately, not alone in this fact, however the lengthy sentence does make her case particularly startling.

"It is obvious the government is trying to send a message," Marie told London's Guardian newspaper, "to have a chilling effect, not only on my action, which, of course, transgressed the laws, but also on 30 years of above-ground actions in the environmental rights spheres."

Due to the length of the sentence imposed on Marie, her case is well known world-wide within the environmental, anarchist, and animal rights movements from which she receives broad support. Indian environmental and anti-globalization activist, Vandana Shiva, says of Marie in a widely viewed on-line video, "I think it is criminal that she is being treated like a criminal. That is why we need a movement;

received any explanation for why she was moved. The gymnasium-sized unit houses up to 20 prisoners, but this space has been cut in half due to a recently constructed new wall; a restricted unit inside a restricted unit.

Many of the women in Marie's unit suffer from untreated, debilitating mental health issues which are manifested in violent behavior, self-mutilation, screams and sobs throughout the night, and unpredictable actions. The constant barrage of cries and

other women in her unit physically look like they are severely lacking in access to sunlight.

Most prisoners know why they have been transferred to this unit — mostly for excessive rule violations — and what they need to do to get out of it. But Marie has been given no indication of why she is there or what she can do to be moved back into the general prison population.

When singer/songwriter David Rovics recently visited her and asked why she thought she had been moved, Marie simply stated:



of Prisons (BOP). The long-term goal of the campaigners is to overturn or reduce her unjust sentence.

October 21 was a national call-in day with supporters across the U.S. phoning the BOP headquarters in Washington asking for Marie to be moved. Just a few days later, on October 25, supporters all over the world held "Move Marie" events for an international day of solidarity. Community gatherings were held across the US, Australia, and Europe where people learned about Marie's situation, wrote letters and signed postcards which were sent to the BOP. Supporters are still being encouraged to write letters asking for her transfer. They can be sent to: Charles E. Samuels, Jr., Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, 320 First St., NW, Washington, DC 20534.

The "Move Marie" campaign has been receiving increased attention with media outlets like Huffington Post publishing a feature on it. One of Marie's lawyers, Susan Tipograph, was interviewed on the HuffPost Live online TV channel. Tipograph has filed a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit against the FBI seeking documents relating to Marie's move, but to date has only received newspaper clippings relating to Marie's above ground actions.

We need a huge amount of public pressure to get the BOP to listen to our concerns about the inhumane conditions in which Marie and her fellow prisoners are being held. Please add your name to the swelling number of supporters who are asking for Marie and her cell block mates to be moved out of Carswell.

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After serving two and a half years in a Minnesota minimum-security prison close to family and friends with no rule violations, Marie was suddenly transferred to the Carswell Federal Medical Center prison in Fort Worth. There she is housed in a special restrictive unit known as the Administration Unit. She never

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Many of the women in Marie's unit suffer from untreated, debilitating mental health issues which are manifested in violent behavior, self-mutilation, screams and sobs throughout the night, and unpredictable actions. The constant barrage of cries and



pleas from people in emotional pain constitutes psychological torture. There is no rest or calm in her unit.

Marie and the other prisoners are only allowed to exercise for one hour a day in a small, fenced-in, concrete, outdoor area topped by double-coiled razor wire. There is no room to run or engage in physical activity. Her unit is frequently under lock down, where prisoners are confined to their cells. Friends who have visited Marie report that she and the

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"They're scared of me." David says, "Marie is a humble person, not one to brag, but what she says is clearly a statement of the obvious. There is no other explanation."

In the face of this ongoing unjust treatment, Marie's support network has instigated a campaign to have her moved out of the restrictive unit and back into general population in a prison closer to her family and friends. The "Move Marie" campaign is working to place public pressure on the federal Bureau

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As Tipograph stated in her HuffPost Live interview, "I think by any standard, the conditions under which she is being held are unconscionable, and are a violation not only of human rights, but of the rights of prisoners in this country to be held in decent and humane conditions."

Go to SupportMarieMason.org for more information, updated information about Marie, current updates on her legal status, join her listserv, find out how you and your community can help bring justice to Marie and the other Carswell prisoners.

MEET THE NEW BOSS

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MEET THE NEW BOSS

By truant

The arrival of Janet Napolitano as the president of the University of California adds to the gradual liberal façade of oppressive state policy in our lives. Her first appearance locally here in Berkeley was met with protests but not nearly enough to throw to light this dubious appointment that lacks any citizen input. I mean, were you asked who is to run the schools?

Janet Napolitano's first move as the new president was to freeze tuition — a gesture

is any difference between Democrat and Republicans. The deportations actually increased after 2008! But the whole organization of Homeland Security is suspect. That is unless their definition of security is to prolong and expand harsh laws in the handling of so-called immigrants, while real threats to life and infrastructure come in the form of climate and environmental chaos, weapon proliferation and a meltdown of civil society. Good job assholes!

Perhaps appointing someone like Janet

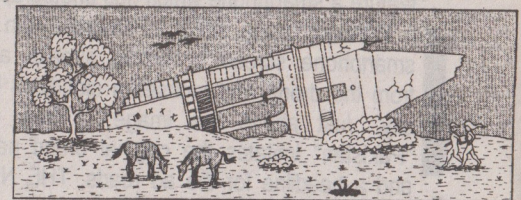
of a "minority class") makes her job to practice having a smile while kicking those trying to rise above abject poverty.

This abhorrence in American culture to give a look at how capitalist policies makes for blowback is a real embarrassment to anyone living with a conscience. Very few news sources besides whiny lefties will ever draw attention to the spike in the number of border-crossers with the arrival of NAFTA jobs in the global South twenty years ago. That is, they are essentially state sanctioned sweat-shops — the kind that normalizes garment factories burning down and hundreds of low wage souls perishing in a lame ass attempt to protect business from labor laws and unions. Slave labor is the new policy without saying as much, a practice not all that new by the way. But the skitzo mainstream media is in denial of its sleight-of-hand function in misdirection when facing issues. Or to sound like an old lefty paper — Prime Time endeavors to have the poor betray its own class when processing the anger of the present day situation. It's far easier to hate the day laborers standing a block from Walmart than it is to go after the overseers running shop of the world's largest chain.

A glance at a nearby Palmist's crystal ball could predict Napolitano's contribution to come. The 9 UC campuses will expand the partnership with developers in land grabs and new construction. The solidification of

corporate giants such as oil companies and pharma industries in guiding research will more deeply infect the curriculum and make sick the developing minds. Doors will be opened to bring more out-of-state students, which will generate high revenues to take home for the administrative class. Meanwhile the people living next door to the colleges — often in slums — will never dream of attending a UC as they see their Jr. Colleges fight eviction as in City College of San Francisco. The few menial jobs that people can access on a college campus will be increasingly unpleasant and with a shrinking revenue. These are all policies consistent with cutthroat business ethics. Colleges seeking high credit ratings for loans have gotten into the practice of IMF-type operations.

Hell, Janet may even bring in the heinous



Arizona policy, which outlaws ethnic studies in classrooms. This seems especially apt in a Koch brothers' type agenda since California's population is headed for a white minority. By Arizona legally denying the teaching of the world's culture it ultimately enforces a white European malaise across communities just

We should have gotten the point by now [...] that policy doesn't need a visible mastermind, much less our consent.

called for way back in that distant 20th century. But regardless of its tardiness this will look good on her resume when the media touts her next move. Conversely Janet's pedigree as viewed by the left is short but hiss-able. As Democratic Governor of Arizona she shamelessly aided the right-wing agenda of bashing brown skin people, administering policies that made alliances with such blatantly malevolent characters as Sheriff Joe Arpaio. Later as head of Homeland Security she continued in this manner with the deportations of immigrants at wholesale numbers. The fact that this was done AFTER the nefarious Bush Jr. presidency stokes the skepticism that there

Napolitano, who has no experience in managing education, is a continuation of the entertainment and business industries having sway in the popular political arena. With an army of handlers helping such a figurehead make the easiest of decisions all that is needed is a competent voice to make the decree. People should have gotten the point by now with leaders being synonymous with Ronald Reagan, Arnold Schwarzenegger and George Bush Jr. that the alien-like policy doesn't need a visible mastermind much less your consent. These are people with no job experience besides fulfilling a character type. Janet's station as a liberal woman (a member

HOLDING THE LINE

BEYOND THE BART STRIKE: LAND, LABOR AND WEALTH

By Plum Wine

In one of the highest profile labor struggles in the US this year, BART transit workers in the San Francisco Bay Area went on strike twice over wages, benefits, and working conditions. The issues behind the strikes and the impact on transportation highlight some labor and land use issues common to many urban societies.

A little background on the 2013 BART strike

In BART's 2009-2013 contract negotiations, unions accepted over \$100 million in cuts which expired in June 2013. Management's proposal of additional cuts for 2013-2017 led to a strike in July 2013 and a second strike in October 2013 after management refused

part of the banks, as economic theory states that inflation is a useful tool for lowering wages, as wages tend to be "sticky" — in other words, hard to cut. Wages aren't the only thing that matter — it's also about dignified labor that treats workers as people with real human needs.

In good times, transportation workers fought at the front for better working conditions and pay. Now, with society running in reverse, they're the rear guard against complete destruction of the middle class.

At BART, in addition to the issue of wages, two other issues were prominent — work rules that helped preserve predictable schedules, and paid leave that ensures that workers don't have to choose between a paycheck and

The commuter system: a product of pollution, gentrification, and transit policy

In the beginning, people moved out of cities because of pollution: coal, chemicals, diseases from raw sewage. Even today, inner cities suffer the worst air pollution — now from ships and cars passing through.

Now the city is unaffordable. Extreme wealth inequality begets extreme hogging of housing. A three-apartment Victorian becomes a single-family house. Foreign wealth buys up empty U.S. apartments as revolution insurance. Whole buildings are used as vacation rentals, second homes, or speculative investments. New highrises often house fewer people than the modest buildings they replaced.

Waves of gentrification spill out from San Francisco to Oakland to the Central Valley and finally to Latin America, where displaced agriculture from the U.S. clearcuts rainforest and seizes indigenous land.

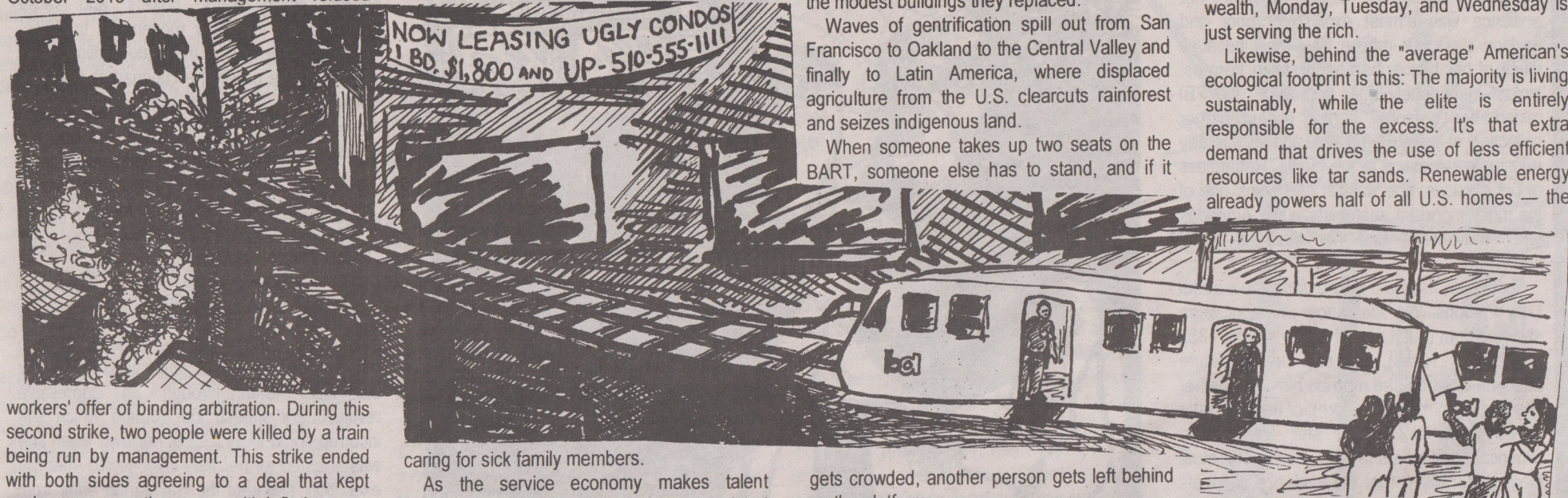
When someone takes up two seats on the BART, someone else has to stand, and if it

Compared to the Key System, BART extended into then-rural Fremont and Walnut Creek, but had fewer stops in Berkeley and Oakland (10 versus 100s). Entire neighborhoods were bulldozed to create parking lots around stations. The amount of housing within a 1-hour ride of San Francisco actually decreased.

Going further up the line, why are so many people going to work at all? The workweek remains unchanged since 1937, and average hours have gone up as two incomes become necessary to stay middle class. Productivity is up 400% but wages have only doubled. Where did all the work go?

Given that 62% of the wealth is owned by 5% of the people and that labor creates all wealth, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday is just serving the rich.

Likewise, behind the "average" American's ecological footprint is this: The majority is living sustainably, while the elite is entirely responsible for the excess. It's that extra demand that drives the use of less efficient resources like tar sands. Renewable energy already powers half of all U.S. homes — the



workers' offer of binding arbitration. During this second strike, two people were killed by a train being run by management. This strike ended with both sides agreeing to a deal that kept worker compensation on par with inflation.

Inflation, the relentless wage cutter

caring for sick family members.

As the service economy makes talent increasingly subjective, transit workers signal the importance of public sector jobs to the community at large. Private companies can

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In today's USA, with 5% of the people owning 62% of the wealth, the rich each ride

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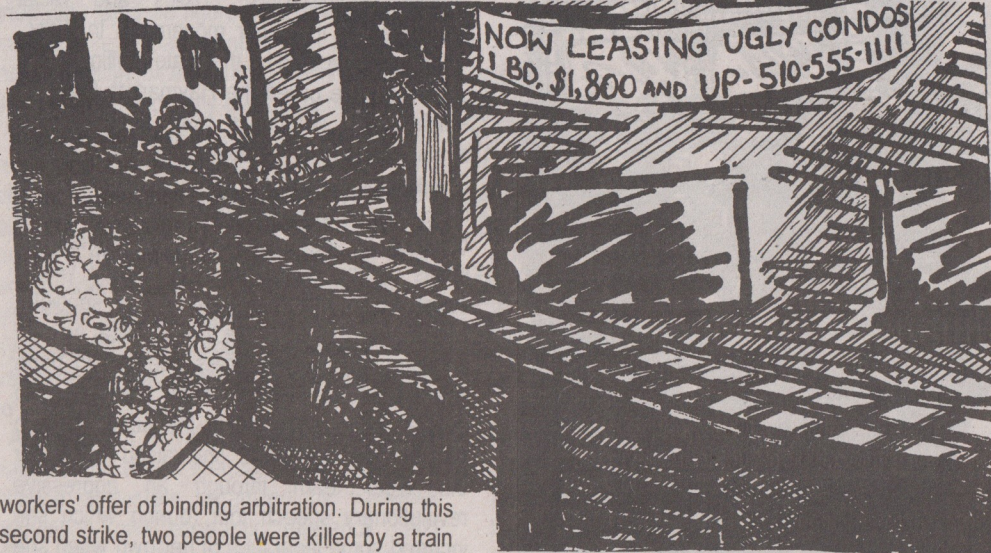
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Inflation, the relentless wage cutter

Often in labor negotiations, management will frame labor's demands as being huge raises, while labor will defend that they are just maintaining what they have. That's because inflation requires labor to constantly fight for more money just to maintain a constant standard of living.

Inflation occurs when the amount of money increases faster than the production of goods and services. This is a deliberate policy on the

caring for sick family members.

As the service economy makes talent increasingly subjective, transit workers signal the importance of public sector jobs to the minority middle class. Private companies can hide discrimination in handshake hiring and secret salaries. The public sector guards equal opportunity with public compensation records.

It's true the BART strike made life difficult for commuters and worsened air pollution. Unfortunately, victories don't come from appealing to the ruling class's morals. They come from having leverage over their economy.

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In today's USA, with 5% of the people owning 62% of the wealth, the rich each ride their own private train car, everyone else stands, and billions get locked out on the other side of the border faregates.

Planning for BART began in the 1940s, with funding provided in 1959. The plan: make driving easier for the new suburbs. One year before, the Key System railway had closed, and its tracks on the Bay Bridge and East Bay streets were converted to car lanes.

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Where do we go from here?

To end the race to the bottom, the bottom needs to be brought up — and a lid put on the top. It'll take higher minimum wages, universal healthcare, women's empowerment, ending discrimination, restoring taxes on high incomes and inheritances, and more. It begins with not asking why some workers have it so good, but rather, why don't we all?



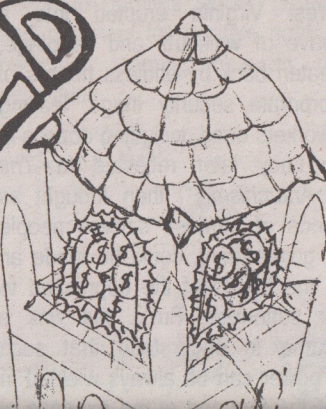
SAME AS THE OLD BOSS

when people of color could stop pretending to fawn over a colonial lie and start to know and respect their past. Ethnic Studies is a direct result of people of color revolting and demanding change from the academy to the streets.

Perhaps this is the treatment we get for not

should clear the room.

But by the early 2000s the momentum of protests across UC campuses to save Affirmative Action also helped to mobilize a challenge to the insane tuition increases. Protests against deportations even spread to California's K-12 as was seen with the inspired



that people don't keep pressuring for real change. Change like destruction of the grading system, community control of who is in power (Democratize the Regents), better pay and representation for the lower tier workers, and an eradication of corporate and military influence on campus... more demands on the

while labor will defend that they are just maintaining what they have. That's because inflation requires labor to constantly fight for more money just to maintain a constant standard of living.

Inflation occurs when the amount of money increases faster than the production of goods and services. This is a deliberate policy on the

secret salaries. The public sector guards equal opportunity with public compensation records.

It's true the BART strike made life difficult for commuters and worsened air pollution. Unfortunately, victories don't come from appealing to the ruling class's morals. They come from having leverage over their economy.

stands, and billions get locked out on the other side of the border faregates.

Planning for BART began in the 1940s, with funding provided in 1959. The plan: make driving easier for the new suburbs. One year before, the Key System railway had closed, and its tracks on the Bay Bridge and East Bay streets were converted to car lanes.

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Perhaps this is the treatment we get for not committing either way. By neither fully rolling

**THE ARRIVAL OF
JANET NAPOLITANO AS
THE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA**

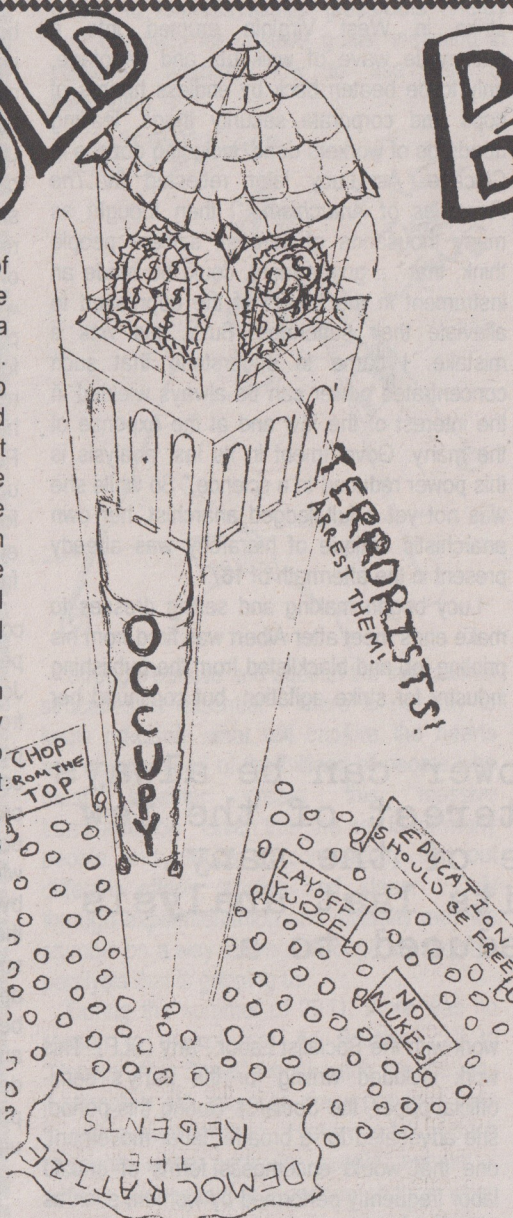
on our bellies nor jumping at our aggressor and biting back, that we are given this luke-warm- fascism. The kind of boiling that will make the increase of temperature seem "tolerable" for most while those complaining can be muffled off camera. The last marker of collective backbone demonstrated by university students was in the late 1990s when people of conscience (and intelligence!) fought to expand affirmative action — not erase it. Affirmative action functions to counter the work of white supremacy of the last 400 years against brown skinned people. The irony of descendants of (European) immigrants pointing fingers and shaming brown skin people (with indigenous blood) is the joke that

should clear the room.

But by the early 2000s the momentum of protests across UC campuses to save Affirmative Action also helped to mobilize a challenge to the insane tuition increases. Protests against deportations even spread to California's K-12 as was seen with the inspired "Day without an Immigrant" rallies that happened in May of each year. Whole communities created festivals of convergence and open resistance while mainstream America marveled at Bush Jr. This prairie fire spark is what is needed across this flaccid country to make a more fair and involved community.

People wishing to see similar examples in history can look at the Columbia University takeover in 1968 that within months helped to create a national movement of radicals not only in colleges but also in high schools. Imagine the fear it inspired in law & order types who watched kids go from teenyboppers to protest organizers. Our coming together to bring muscle in fighting the policies like tuition hikes, racism, corrupt corporation influence, and war had gained momentum on college campuses. Protests 45 years later (essentially on the same core issues) helped fuel the national movement that eventually was articulated as the Occupy movement.

So to appoint Janet Napolitano, a well likeable liberal minority (though women are 51% of the population) is a diversion tactic so



that people don't keep pressuring for real change. Change like destruction of the grading system, community control of who is in power (Democratize the Regents), better pay and representation for the lower tier workers, and an eradication of corporate and military influence on campus....more demands on the way. I've always felt that as dour and hopeless every day seems to be the actual potentials of change is matched by the enormous sum of conscious beings alive on the planet. Imagine if more people were involved... That's actually inevitable.

As we trod on in this unsustainable modern way of life and rest our very survival on some capitalist dice game...one wonders if any other future awaits us. The gradual changes that can be made by progressive leaders seem to have little effect on the course of these days. No longer is working within the system a convincing detriment to the diet slavery and death offered as a replacement for us owning our own lives. Perhaps the leadership necessary to free us resides away from the high thrones and the media spotlights. The time wasted following celebrities is better spent other places. More protests directed at fucked up policies are called for. There are a thousand websites you will be referred to fulfill your desire to participate and revolt. Rather I suggest you just follow the latest struggles at the local K-12 schools and colleges, then show up when asked to.

adventures in anarchy: LUCY PARSONS

by x.lenc

While it's true that anarchists are frequently ignored by labor historians, the lack of writing about Lucy Parsons is especially egregious, even among fellow anarchists. Her relative lack of recognition is hard to explain, given her tremendous contributions. She often spent more time organizing than writing theory, and perhaps contemporary anarchists privilege theorists in their histories. Perhaps it has something to do with the fact that, unlike more well-known figures like Emma Goldman, her audience was almost exclusively poor and working class. Or maybe it's simply because much of her history has been stolen from us: almost immediately after her death, the FBI raided her personal library (including her collection of private writings), and to this day refuses to release it to the public. Regardless of our excuses, she was, at one point, one of the most important anarchists in the American labor movement, and her story is worth knowing.

To be fair, there's a lot we don't know about Lucy Parsons. We don't know where or when she was born (but it was probably around 1853 near Waco, Texas), how she met her future husband or when she married him (or whether she had been married before), or her race (she publicly maintained that she was Native American and chicana, not black, but most biographers claim that the evidence suggests that she was born into slavery with black parentage). We do, however, know that she



to "learn the use of explosives!" if they wanted to capture the attention of the upper class. Her radical attitudes extended to her racial politics: unlike most 'black leaders' who embraced the appeasement philosophy of Booker T. Washington, and white labor organizers who typically ignored racism and the nation's wave of lynchings altogether, Lucy insisted that capitalism and racism were dual monsters that could not be fought independently, arguing for against assimilationist politics and racial hierarchies in the labor movement. In 1887, Albert was executed by the State of Illinois in a notorious case called the Haymarket Affair, in which seven anarchists were sentenced to death following a bombing that killed seven Chicago police officers, on the grounds that they may have inspired the unidentified bombing by espousing anarchist ideas. Her status as the case's most prominent widow thrust Lucy into the international spotlight, where she refused to be the apolitical woman in mourning that the press seemed to hope she would be. Rather than attempting to appear more moderate to the public to help with her husband's trial, she raised money for the legal team through an aggressive revolutionary speech tour (during which she incurred some legal fees of her own when she was arrested for her fiery invectives). After the execution, she kept the Haymarket affair from falling into obscurity by publishing the final speeches and biographies of the condemned

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It was an especially difficult time to be poor in Chicago — two years after the Chicago fire,



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It was an especially difficult time to be poor in Chicago – two years after the Chicago fire, almost all of the money collected by the Relief and Aid Society had been funneled into the Society's board members' company accounts, leaving the city's working class in a state of disaster long after the city had been rebuilt. To make matters worse, Wall Street's feverish investment in railroad securities (along with other factors) culminated in a financial crisis called the Panic of 1873. The Panic plunged the United States and Europe into a massive depression that lasted until at least 1879, and the working class immigrants and emigrants who helped define the urban core of American cities like Chicago were condemned to a cycle of crippling semi-employment and confinement

in almost-uninhabitable slums. When the Parsons arrived in one such Chicago slum (a ghetto of poor German immigrants within today's Old Town), they were not only exposed to a kind of poverty they had never seen in the American South, but also to the emerging wealth of radical European literature imported



strike in West Virginia erupted into a nationwide wave of walkouts and sabotage, only to be beaten back by endless hoards of cops and corporate security thugs, leaving hundreds of workers dead, including dozens in Chicago. As Lucy later reflected in *The Principles of Anarchism*, "I then thought as many thousands of earnest, sincere people think, that government, could be made an instrument in the hands of the oppressed to alleviate their sufferings. But... this was a mistake. I came to understand that such concentrated power can be always wielded in the interest of the few and at the expense of the many. Government in its last analysis is this power reduced to a science." So while she was not yet a full-fledged anarchist, her own anarchistic critique of hierarchy was already present in the aftermath of 1877.

Lucy began making and selling dresses to make ends meet after Albert was fired from his printing job and blacklisted from the publishing industry for strike agitation, but continued her

housework and childcare. Lucy knew of this injustice all too well: she gave birth to her two children around this time, and became a prominent speaker for the Working Women's Union. When the relatively center-left Knights of Labor began accepting women as members, she was among the first to join, but she remained a representative of the militant wing of the movement, advocating for a shorter work week and armed struggle against the police (she eventually left the Knights of Labor for their lack of support for a class basis in revolution. When the SLP split in 1881, she helped form the militant International Working People's Association (IWPA), a group that saw unions as a potentially violent revolutionary force to destroy class rule, establish gender equality, and create a society organized by free contracts between autonomous

communes. Such beliefs brought Parsons into personal contact with firebrands such as Johann Most, an orator who had been exiled from his native Germany for promoting violent political action acts (such as assassination of counter-revolutionary bosses or police) to promote a revolutionary idea. Along with her personal experiences with labor organizing, where striking laborers were openly murdered by police and company security whether or not the strike was a 'violent' one, new associates such as Most further radicalized Lucy Parsons' approach to the labor question, and she soon began publicly identifying not only as an anarchist, but also as an advocate for dedicated sabotage and violence. In one 1884 pamphlet, she encouraged "tramps, the unemployed, the disinherited, and miserable"

work with the Socialist Labor Party (SLP). This work included writing for the party's semi-official paper, the *Socialist*. During this period, she advocated for a broader labor movement, one that would encompass forms of unpaid labor frequently performed by women, such as

Lucy insisted and racism were that could

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As Chicago's population swelled and changed, so did the Chicago anarchist movement. The failed attempts by a young anarchist named Alexander Berkman to assassinate a murderous strikebreaking industrialist had failed to incite much more than a stiff prison sentence, Johann Most recapitulated his political stance on terrorism and began to denounce violence, and Lucy increasingly stumbled into ideological squabbles with other leftists. By the time an anarchist finally managed to kill a major American head of state (President McKinley in 1901, by Leon Czolgosz), she had grown pessimistic about the power of sporadic acts of violence to mobilize class war, and was in search of an alternative. In 1905, she joined major organizers Eugene Debs, Mother Jones, Bill Haywood, and others in founding the International Workers of the World (IWW), which abandoned the 'craft unionism' typical of the time for 'industrial unionism' (meaning that they tried to organize all the workers of entire industries regardless of skill level, rather than simply organizing individual trade groups). The IWW organized African American, Asian, and white workers alike, valued rank-and-file organizing over strong leadership positions, and sought working class struggle through general strikes and direct action rather than through electoral politics. A series of successful campaigns sent the IWW's membership rates soaring, bringing Lucy under even more scrutiny by the police: her travels were closely watched by coordinated police information networks, and she was often followed or arrested upon entering or leaving a new town or before giving a speech. She was seen as a magnet for uprisings, and not

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by the neighborhood's recent immigrants. They began attending labor meetings together, and even got involved with local socialist organizations, but the Parsons maintained their old Republican faith in law and peaceful voting as primary vehicles in social change.

All that changed in 1877, when a railway

5 MYTHS ABOUT WORKER COOPERATIVES

Volume

two

without good reason. During an impromptu 1914 visit to San Francisco, for example, a crowd from the city's enormous unemployed and homeless population gathered in the hopes of hearing her speak. When the cops arrested Parsons to prevent her from appearing, a thousand people broke instantly into a riot; soon afterwards, the IWW set up shop in San Francisco, and terrified California politicians scrambled to fund employment-boosting public works projects in the hopes of forestalling future riots.

After the outbreak of World War I in 1917, however, an enormous wave of state repression all but decimated the IWW. Lucy had already begun grown suspicious of or exhausted with a number of IWW policies (and anarchism generally). By 1927 she was sitting on the executive council of the strictly-communist legal advocacy group (where she admittedly supported the anarchist political prisoners Sacco & Vanzetti) and publicly aligning herself with the soviet Communist Party (where she worked for fifteen years until her death), and trading jabs with more individualistic anarchists such as Emma Goldman over the repression of anarchists in the newly-formed USSR. She wasn't shy about her reasons: she wrote that anarchists had fallen into a trap of going to conferences, talking, and going home instead of actually mobilizing, and that she joined the communists because "they are the *only* bunch making a

By Helena Bla-Latchkey

The United Nations declared 2012 "the Year of the Cooperative," and since then there has been an itchy rash of interest in the subject amongst the progressive media and internet. Many articles and documentaries uncritically espouse the supposed virtues of cooperatives without any real investigation into the problems which often arise. I have been a member at a successful cooperative for over a year and half now. When I first began, I was very idealistic. Experience has given me more perspective.

Worker-cooperative business models offer many economic advantages. They are more resistant to depression. Sometimes, they offer better wages and benefits to workers overall, depending on the industry and success of the business. They are often eligible for certain tax breaks thanks to The New Deal. Shared property and ownership is certainly different than private property and ownership; intra-cooperative cooperation is more comparable to the collusion between global corporations than the one-against-all competition most small businesses engage in, and often more profitable. Economic incentives aside, I would like to examine some popular myths about worker cooperatives. I am not seeking to write a scathing exposé, but merely to start a more realistic discussion about these unusual workplaces.

Myth #1: Worker Coops are Radical



individual ownership. Coops do not pose any threat to the atrocities of capitalism and often engage in systemic exploitation as well.

This need not necessarily be the case. I do think there is potential for worker cooperatives to have a more aggressive stance that actively confronts capitalism. We certainly have the capabilities to re-write our bylaws as long as they adhere to certain legal standards, and experiment with entirely different ways of

"doing business." There are limitations, both legal and economic, however most of the limitations have more to do with how indoctrinated we all are into systems of oppression. Imagine a restaurant that had a permanent free item on its menu or a machining coop that refused to serve oil or natural gas companies. Worker coops do offer a direct way of confronting these issues and

anything done at a coop. At worst, members seize and guard responsibility for administrative tasks that make others dependent upon them, i.e., payroll, then use their position as leverage by threatening to leave if something fails to go their way. Some coops have neatly defined political parties with a few strong leaders. Some are defined more by individual leaders which vie for favor using everything at their disposal. Some coops are small enough that these problems never really blossom into clear patterns; however, I would imagine that they do in any group over eight members.

At my coop, most work is accomplished through empowered committees. Perhaps because it is so impossible to get things done in a larger group, having small voluntary groups is absolutely necessary. Some committees are more effective than others but we all seem to have a lot of fun. All my favorite moments have been working closely with one to three other people. In these smaller groups, honest communication and transparency is easy. We support and know one another. We share a clear common aim and trust one another's autonomy.

Myth #5: Democracy is Good

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vigorous protest against the present horrible conditions!" Parsons was less interested in any particular ideology or political philosophy than she was in organizing the working class. Her willingness to 'switch sides' probably had less to do with ideological changes than it had to do with changes in the size, composition, and activity of the anarchist movement generally.

On March 7, 1942, Lucy Parsons, nearly 90 years old, died in a house fire, leaving her anarchist friends to bicker with her communist friends over funeral arrangements while the pigs raided her charred home. There's been a lot of embittered hand-wringing about Lucy's apparent defection from anarchism, but I think it's entirely possible to appreciate her contributions to anticapitalist and antistatist movements without agreeing with her later

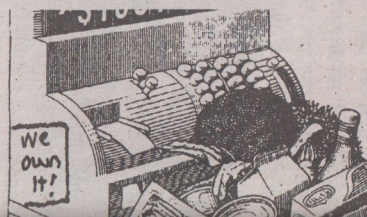
which often arise. I have been a member at a successful cooperative for over a year and half now. When I first began, I was very idealistic. Experience has given me more perspective.

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Myth #1: Worker Coops are Radical Spaces

This one came as something of a shock to me. In my experience, most people who work in coops are centrist, vaguely progressive or not politicized at all; many have absolutely no interest in discussing things on a historical scale. I had more political conversations at my previous jobs in kitchens with fellow workers, laughing over ovens with a boss in the office we all hated.

Many people are not trying to change anything by being a part of a worker coop — they are simply showing up to a job. Perhaps a more troubling pattern I have noticed is the de-radicalization that happens to worker owners who are politicized. One can easily pour all ones energy into a coop, to the exclusion of one's outside life. Perhaps a certain complacency sets in. One wakes up and realizes that they've quietly joined the middle class through a back door, without ever having intended to.



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This need not necessarily be the case. I do think there is potential for worker cooperatives to have a more aggressive stance that actively confronts capitalism. We certainly have the capabilities to re-write our bylaws as long as they adhere to certain legal standards, and experiment with entirely different ways of

"doing business." There are limitations, both legal and economic, however most of the limitations have more to do with how indoctrinated we all are into systems of oppression. Imagine a restaurant that had a permanent free item on its menu or a machining coop that refused to serve oil or natural gas companies. Worker coops do offer a direct way of confronting these issues and examining ones attitudes, desires and assumptions about what business is.

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Myth #3: Coop Owners Share Fate, Equal Power and Equal Pay

Coop owners do not share fate if they are just showing up to a job which they have every intention of leaving within several years. Coop owners will never have equal power because all people have unequal faculties, capabilities, charisma and foresight. Larger coops generally do not have equal pay nor power; they simply use more "equitable" pay scales for executives and workers, all of which receive share of the corporation and the right to vote. I strongly recommend reading up on the Mondragon Corporation, self-proclaimed leader of the cooperative movement which employs over 83,000 people. That number does not include the multitude of Chinese factory workers that manufacture parts for them overseas.

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Myth #5: Democracy is Good

The best possible compromise leaves everybody slightly dissatisfied. Participatory democracy is often more swayed by social pressure than deliberate decision-making or consent. Making decisions at a glacial pace, the modus operandi of coops, causes as many problems as it avoids. Often, by the time people are able to meet, the subject at hand has become irrelevant. When a decision is made, it is often never followed up on, enforced or even remembered. When consensus is reached, it is often simply half-hearted rubber stamping. At my coop, people tend to agree with anything, listlessly holding their thumbs up while glancing at the clock.

When people do act with agency, they may be punished by being socially ostracized and alienated from others regardless of outcome. More often than not, people desperately rely on precedent, perhaps out of fear, as if it were a law to rule our actions. We often say, "The more you stick your neck out, the more you get your head bit off." It is something we accept about our situation like gravity. A poster we have on our office wall sums it up well.

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Here are some suggestions for further reading, both big and small:

For light readers: "Lucy Parsons: More Dangerous Than a Thousand Rioters", by Keith Rosenthal. (available for free online)β
For readers with intermediate interest: Lucy Parsons: American Revolutionary, by Carolyn Ashbaugh (~250 pages, Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co.)

in coops are centrists, vaguely progressive or not politicized at all; many have absolutely no interest in discussing things on a historical scale. I had more political conversations at my previous jobs in kitchens with fellow workers, laughing over ovens with a boss in the office we all hated.

Many people are not trying to change anything by being a part of a worker coop — they are simply showing up to a job. Perhaps a more troubling pattern I have noticed is the de-radicalization that happens to worker owners who are politicized. One can easily pour all ones energy into a coop, to the exclusion of one's outside life. Perhaps a certain complacency sets in. One wakes up and realizes that they've quietly joined the middle class through a back door, without ever having intended to.



Myth #2: Worker Coops are a Way out of Capitalism

Profit is the primary goal in business. Many customers assume that all worker cooperatives have their best interests at heart. I have heard people insist that cooperatives are inherently more inclusive, more "just" a way to "save the economy and save the Earth." This is absurd. Worker coops are businesses and often function in the same ways that all businesses do — reinforcing privilege, cutting corners, producing excess waste and using disingenuous advertisement. At my workplace, we cut many corners simply because everybody is stretched thin and exhausted. Worker cooperatives are arguably a more "sustainable" version of capitalism — a model of private, group ownership rather than private,

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Myth #3: Coop Owners Share Fate, Equal Power and Equal Pay

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On the other end of the spectrum, some cooperatives are beginning to pay based on need rather than work — perhaps a genuinely radical idea. Persons with dependents are automatically placed on a higher pay scale. How one perceives "need" could become a difficult determination to make, however I feel that need-based pay is an exciting idea worth exploring.

Myth #4: Individuals Cannot Control the Business to the Detriment of Other Members

Modified consensus may ensure that one person cannot make a large decision unilaterally. However, it does nothing to protect members from the inevitable and constant struggles, manipulation and almost Machiavellian power dynamics that can come into play. True, an individual does not have control, but they do have the power to coerce.

At best, coercion is the only way to get

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6. PRAISE AND HONORS FOR THE NON-PARTICIPANTS

Like the many crumbs left along the trails of institutional memory, nobody knows where this poster came from, how long it has been on our wall nor who put it up to begin with. The ink is red and it is stained a blotchy tea-brown color with age. Nobody likes it, yet nobody takes it down. Perhaps as much as we resent it, we also have a certain love for it.

As much as we all seem to dislike our coop, and often dislike one another, there is a current of "familial" affection that is undeniable. I think the only thing that prevents somebody from burning the place down and running off with the insurance money is that we actually do have genuine love for one another. I feel that this is rather unique in a workplace. Cooperativism has many problems, but it might create more space for fierce loyalties, close bonds and even begrudging acceptance of one another's faults, by forcing us to take a little responsibility for one another's well-being.

THE CULTURAL EARTHQUAKE FELT 'ROUND THE BAY

BY: VANESSA X



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hop onstage where I made my way near the
drum kit. The view from up top was
amazing. I looked into the crowd and felt like
I knew everyone there, whether it was
through zines, their bands, or going to
shows. The entire place was packed and
that's when I realized how truly special this
band was. Blatz still sounded fresh, still had
chemistry, and still had the ability to bring so
many people out to a place that they helped
create. The band played almost all of their
songs, and at the end of their set, Springer
thanked everyone for coming out to help
support Mike, telling the crowd that "we
have to take care of each other."
Unfortunately not everyone was taken care
of that night. The day after the show, it was
revealed that a trans member of our
community was violently assaulted outside
the venue. Whether or not those people
were held accountable, I'm not sure. After
the band stopped playing, hundreds of
sweaty punks exited the venue, everyone
hung around outside looking energized and
excited about what they had just
experienced

Most reunion shows leave me feeling
depressed, wondering why I wasted
my time seeing a band that should have
stayed in the past. Fortunately this was not
the case with Blatz. As a bay area native,
the energy I felt at this show was one I
hadn't experienced in a long time and I have
to wonder if this is what it was like to be
a part of the scene that Blatz was a part of in
the early 90's. This specific scene has a rich
history that can be traced back to the late
70's through fanzines like Maximum Rock N
Roll and venues like the 924 Gilman Street
Project, both originating in Berkeley and
both affected by the recent economy. As we



BLATZ REUNITES

THE CULTURAL FELT 'ROLL

formed in 1989, I was barely 21. So was the 924 Gilman. Any punk from the bay area that this venue, along with the performing on it's stage, had a creating the diverse and charged scene that we have stages venue with an anything-Blatz. This east bay band had 5 members, who were mostly in their performances were poetic, and fun, which helped them fans from the bay area and

that surrounded Blatz would I would hear them as a teen. In Berkeley, my friends and I would escape the suburban hometown to the cool Berkeley. Our favorite place to was Telegraph Avenue, more specifically, Amoeba Records. As we the aisles looking for new music to I came across the 'Shit Split' by Blatz. I especially loved the Blatz thanks to the shrieking female vocals anthemic songs about fucking shit when I got my drivers license, that

ended up getting scratched up inside my car forever. Forward to December 2013, it was needed that Blatz would be reuniting to show at Gilman at the end of the Odd, since several of the members in different parts of the states and played together as a band in 21. It turns out this was a benefit show for friend, Mike-O the Psycho of Filth, fighting cancer. The buzz

On the night of December 27th, 2013, I arrived at the venue with some friends and was surprised that the line wasn't snaked around the block as previous reunion shows at Gilman have been (ie: FILTH). Several people I know bought advance tickets online for \$20, while others decided to stay home, thinking there was no chance they were getting in. At 7pm, the volunteers opened the doors and started letting everyone in. The asking price for the show was a sliding scale of \$5-\$20, all proceeds going to Mike from Filth to help with his medical expenses. After paying my share, I checked out the merch tables where they were selling Blatz t-shirts, records, and even a few zines. Not wanting to spend my money on merch, I decided to walk across the street to Pyramid Brewery to drink with old and new friends. After hearing stories about "the good ol' days of Gilman" and sharing several pitchers, we decided it was time to head back and see what was happening.

As we entered Gilman, the crowd had tripled in size. Trying to squeeze my way to the bathroom was a feat, but I made it to the graffiti drenched stall to empty my bladder before watching the main attraction. Special Forces was the last band to play before Blatz and I caught the tail-end of their set. The band was wearing ski masks and had a fog machine onstage. Nice try, but even

my way to the stage to secure a spot in the first few rows. As I looked around, I saw a lot of familiar faces and the energy in the room was mostly excitement. The excitement increased as the members took the stage to set-up their instruments. All original members of the band were there except John Santos, their sometimes bass player and co-founder. The nervous energy was heightened for the band as all eyes were on them as they fumbled onstage to get everything in place. Jesse Luscious and Robert Eggplant were yelling about something, Marshall Stax looked calm, Anna Joy Springer and Joey Perales looked excited, Annie Lalania looked nervous. At around 11pm, the band was ready to play. Springer asked the crowd to send good vibes to Mike Filth and then they jumped into 'Homemade Speed.' The crowd instantly started swaying back and forth and sang along to every word. After the first song, the crowd finally recovered and some people from the audience tried to hop on stage but were shot down by Luscious, who waved a finger in their face and told them to get off the stage. It seemed both Luscious and Springer had control over the crowd, both of them charismatic and confident, while the other members held down their instruments. The band sounded great, transmitting all their punk energy into the crowd even though they had confessed to only practicing once before the show. A trash bag of shredded newspapers was revealed and members of the band and audience started throwing paper around the room. I'm just glad it wasn't cat food, which I heard Blatz liked to throw at the audience back in the day.

hop onstage where I made my drum kit. The view from up top was amazing. I looked into the crowd and I knew everyone there, whether through zines, their bands, or shows. The entire place was electric, that's when I realized how true the band was. Blatz still sounded like chemistry, and still had the ability to get many people out to a place to create. The band played almost all songs, and at the end of their set, they thanked everyone for coming and support Mike, telling the crowd they have to take care of each other. Unfortunately not everyone was there that night. The day after the show revealed that a trans member of the community was violently assaulted at the venue. Whether or not the band were held accountable, I'm not sure. The band stopped playing, the sweaty punks exited the venue, and I hung around outside looking excited about what they had experienced.

Most reunion shows leave me depressed, wondering why I spent my time seeing a band that stayed in the past. Fortunately, the case with Blatz. As a band, the energy I felt at this show hadn't experienced in a long time. To wonder if this is what it was a part of the scene that Blatz was the early 90's. This specific history that can be traced back to the 70's through fanzines like M.F. Roll and venues like the 924 Project, both originating in the bay area and both affected by the recent

BLATZ REUNITE

Disclaimer: My intent for this piece was to give the readers a glimpse into the bay area punk scene, more specifically, the Blatz reunion show that I attended in December 2013. I felt it was important to include this in Slingshot as a reminder that our counter-culture and the music shows that we attend can be an escape from the struggles that we face in our daily lives. Unfortunately, my piece failed to mention providing a safe space for all. On the night of the show, a trans member in our community was violently assaulted outside the venue by a group of skinheads. I learned this from a member of the collective while writing this article. Trying to get the details of the attack was hard, as it seemed that no one could give me any information. My failure to include this topic upset many collective members and there were angry emails in our inbox regarding the issue. On the morning of the layout party, the collective had a heated discussion about the issue and resolved that I write a disclaimer, while another member would write a response. If you have any feedback or want to further the discussion, please email us at slingshot@tao.ca. We'd love to hear from you.

When Blatz formed in 1989, I was barely 2 years-old and so was the 924 Gilman Street Project. Any punk from the bay area can tell you that this venue, along with the bands that performed on it's stage, had a huge part in creating the diverse and politically charged scene that we have today. An all-ages venue with an anything-goes-attitude was the perfect platform for a band like Blatz. This east bay band had 5, sometimes 6 members, who were mostly in their teens. Their performances were messy, chaotic, and fun, which helped them gain several fans from the bay area and beyond.

The legend that surrounded Blatz would make sure I would hear them as a teen. In high school, my friends and I would escape our lifeless, suburban hometown to the cool streets of Berkeley. Our favorite place to hangout was Telegraph Avenue, more specifically, Amoeba Records. As we cruised the aisles looking for new music to discover, I came across the 'Shit Split' by Blatz and Filth. I especially loved the Blatz side thanks to the shrieking female vocals and the anthemic songs about fucking shit up. When I got my drivers license, that

specific cd ended up getting scratched up and lost inside my car forever.

Fast forward to December 2013, it was announced that Blatz would be reuniting to play a show at Gilman at the end of the month. Odd, since several of the members lived in different parts of the states and hadn't played together as a band in 21 years. It turns out this was a benefit show for their friend, Mike-O the Psycho of Filth, who is fighting cancer. The buzz

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When the band broke into their cover of 'Lose Yourself' by X, all hell broke loose. The sea of bodies went from swaying back and forth to full on storming the stage. After almost getting trampled, I had no choice but to

both affected by the recent economy. As we all continue the fight to survive, whether it's combating the government, poverty, or sexist, racist, and classist assholes, Blatz reuniting was a reminder for all of us to get together and 'fuk shit up.'

ence in safety

the experience of dominant culture, which perpetuates attitudes that normalize, excuse, tolerate, and condone violence to queers?

This situation is just one instance of violence that pervades capitalist realities, that spills over into so-called safe spaces, often ignored. The violence is complex and comes from many intersecting facets in our daily lives of who we are, our choices and our privilege that each of us have.

The discussion needs to expand. It is important to not invalidate people's rage, pain, anger, etc. that result from traumatic events or people's feelings of lack of concern by communities, collectives, or other projects that oppose capitalism. The necessity lies in aiding each other in our personal survival (by protecting and defending our hearts and our heartfoxf, giving people space/time/ resources to heal or reflect) and the attempt to make

radical spaces and projects sustainable and as safe as possible.

This is not the end of this conversation in *Slingshot*, but a beginning.

Bashback appears to be actively recruiting and cracking skulls again, and the radical community's frequent inattention to violence against trans/queer people makes its revival more relevant than ever. Loved one, dear one, dear heart, you belong here. We will make sure of it. Next time we don't bash back, we shoot first.

OW WHICH WAY THE WIND BLOWS

protests last year and how the Black Bloc's slogan, "Shit's fucked up!" was something we could all get behind. He also spoke highly of the Iraq and Afghan Veterans Against the War and was seconded by Dohrn.

Dohrn talked about how the WUO was only a small part of the New Left, and how people should research many other groups from the era such as the Black Panthers. She praised the women's movement of the time and how many New Leftists participated in the turn towards labor, organizing in the factories and how that's continued to effect the labor movement today.

Ayers pointed out that the movement wasn't confined to the '60s and paraphrased the Port Huron Statement saying we are all part of this generation, looking uncomfortably at the world we inherit. He talked about the changes in the citizens of the US becoming against the war in Vietnam and praised the Black Freedom Movement and its work against the war, desertion by troops and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

Dohrn talked about how the Vietnam War still affects people here, and the need for a Truth and Reconciliation Committee like in South Africa at the end of Apartheid. Ayers admitted the WUO made a thousand mistakes but opposing the war with every fiber of their bodies was not one of them. Dohrn brought up how they weren't just an anti-war group, they were trying to make a revolution, and she wishes they hadn't used the language of war in their rhetoric.

The last question they fielded was about

how we can fight back against the attack on public education. Ayers talked about the need to re-frame the discussion. Every kid in public schools deserves a good education and this struggle is linked to environmentalism, poverty, women's rights and Dohrn added racial justice.

After the talk, I was able to ask Dohrn and Ayers a few questions.

AI: I recently read in Jane Alpert's memoirs (*Growing Up Underground*, also available to borrow from the Long Haul!) that the code name for the Weather Underground was the eggplant and I've got a comrade in town, that's his street name so I thought it was kind of funny so I started calling him The Eggplant whenever I refer to him.

BD: laughs.

AI: I was just wondering why? Why the eggplant?

BD: The Eggplant That Ate Chicago. [A song by the Dr. West's Medicine Show and Junk Band, which I think I remembered reading this in *Fugitive Days* by Bill Ayers years ago since I knew the song from Dr. Demento broadcasts.]

AI: Oh, okay, 'cause of the Days of Rage.

BD: Yes. Well just because SDS came out of the National Office, was in Chicago, and I was born there, some of us were from there. Just that was the connection.

AI: I came in on a press pass from *Slingshot* and you know from reading collections like *Weatherman* and seeing the old film *Underground* I realized the importance of controlling our own media. *New Left Notes* (SDS's journal) and you even did a journal and a political statement (*Osawatomie* and *Prairie*

Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism, along with many communiques) while you were underground. You talked a lot about mainstream media but only a little about underground, not even underground but the DIY stuff like KPFA, could you expand a bit about the importance of controlling our own media?

BA: I spend very little time whining about the mainstream media. The reality is that every movement has and develops its own media, it's part of building a movement, is develop your own media and your own means of communication. One of the things that I think is an indication of the weakness of the progressive movement now and then is that we get into these silly kind of arguments about how the press is reporting us as if that's what makes a movement. That doesn't make a movement. So if the *New York Times* says that there were 50,000 of us in Washington and really there were 100,000 a lot of progressives get very agitated and their nose out of joint about that I don't. I don't look to the *New York Times* for affirmation, I don't look to the *Washington Post* to see if I'm a real person. As we build a movement we have to build our own ways to communicate. The wonderful thing, you can go through history, all social movements have done this, but the wonderful thing about this moment is that today, our generation, this generation has more access to more information, and to more different kinds of formats than we ever had in history. We have to use that as a tool to help us build a revolution. That's what we have to do, so yes, independent media.

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the basis of her distress, a tragic lack of
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What is the experience of this trauma within

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He went on to say all kids should have access
to the education children of these politicians
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Dohrn talked about the Chicago teachers'
strike in 2012. Attacks on public education are
an important part of the current capitalist/neo-
liberal agenda. Resistance in places like
Chicago are very important and potentially
radical such as the occupation of the Whittier
Field House in Pilsen, Chi back in '10.

Ayers emphasized how Obama is an
admittedly moderate politician, and then Dohrn
pointed out how it's irrelevant because "he sits
in the throne of empire," we live in an empire in
decline and we need to acknowledge that and
organize at the grassroots. Ayers expanded
on the need for grassroots organizing.

They were asked if the WUO ruined the
movement and what advice they have for
young radicals. Dohrn replied she had no
advice for young people, but plenty for old
ones, follow the youth! She praised groups
like the Immigrant Youth Justice League and
the queer movement and the wide anti-war
sentiment from when Obama proposed military
action against Syria. She talked about
harnessing that momentum and also praised
Code Pink. If I'm not mistaken all references
to the queer movement were monolithic.

Ayers followed advocating that we all think
about what we can do for peace everyday and
act on it, not just when there's a war. He
talked about how the G8 was prevented from
meeting in Chi and described the NATO

protests last year and how the Black Bloc's
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for their friend, Mike O'Neil, who is fighting cancer. The buzz surrounding this show was huge and was talked about through various circles in the punk community. People who hadn't seen Blatz in decades and people who hadn't even seen them at all would finally get their chance. I was stoked.

The band was wearing all masks and had a fog machine onstage. Nice try, but even dramatic stage theatrics didn't phase the crowd who were waiting to see the headlining band. I had missed Aspergers, World of Shit, and Death March, but that was fine by me. As Special Forces closed their set and thanked the crowd, I made

no space for sil

by Torn & Mama Gramps

While we acknowledge the cultural relevance of the Blatz show at 924 Gilman, we do so only while simultaneously recognizing and honoring the violent reality present that evening in a space with an empty claim to safety. The music scenes that celebrated this concert sadly omitted key aspects of the night's events. In covering this show, we refuse to replicate dominant culture by

centralizing the voice of dominant culture; instead we centralize the experience of our trans sister. Instead, we offer a brutal examination of the normalization of the trans brutality of a member of our community who was attacked after the show and abandoned by the silence of her peers. The survivor, after befriending a cis female at the show who was clandestinely part of a group of nazi skins on the lookout for a person to complete a violent

initiation ritual, was followed from the venue, choked, punched, held to the ground and threatened with being taken by force to further injured in another location. The survivor blacked out and managed to escape. She was subsequently denied reentry into Gilman on the basis of her distress, a tragic lack of connection with Gilman's desire to be a "safe" space for marginalized people.

What is the experience of this trauma with

YOU DONT NEED A WEATHERMAN TO KNOW

By Alex Iwasa

On November 6 I was able to attend a speech given by ex-Weather Underground Organization (WUO) cadre and educator Bill Ayers in Berkeley. The WUO was one of many urban guerrilla groups that emerged from the New Left in the 1960s and '70s, though one of the more prominent because of its membership's leadership in the 100,000 strong Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the length of its campaign against the US government and its racism both here, in Vietnam and elsewhere especially in Latin America. After getting on to the complimentary seats list on behalf of *Slingshot*, I grabbed a stack of 100 copies of the paper from the Long Haul Infoshop and meandered to the Hillside Club. The usual gauntlet of beady-eyed sectarians distributing pamphlets to the masses outside was sparse. A couple Spartacists who for a change didn't hassle me for not taking up exactly their line and someone from KPFA, the local Pacifica station that this was a benefit for and I were it compared to the Commie alphabet soup I'm used to from places like Chicago and Cleveland.

After being introduced to a packed room, Ayers introduced his long time partner who was also in the WUO and an educator, Bernardine Dohrn. He started talking about the 2008 Presidential Campaign, and how Hillary Clinton was actually the first person to question Obama about his relationship with Ayers, before the McCain campaign really ran with it. I think this is relevant to radicals because she was also the one to start in on

Obama about whether or not he is a birth right citizen; sometimes radicals do get caught up in Democratic politics and it might be a good idea as some radicals start to think about possible intervention in the 2016 elections that we not forget the not so subtle racism and, basically Red baiting in the Clinton campaign.

He went on to talk a great deal about his family, saying Dohrn used to joke that they only survived 11 years together on the run because she never told him they were underground.

Dohrn talked about resisting the Grand Jury invoked after the 1981 Brinks robbery which left three people dead and a number of radicals in prison including two ex-WUO cadre, Kathy Boudin and David Gilbert. She described Grand Juries, including how they started in England and how they along with prisons should be abolished. She described the prisoner support she received, and how she felt like she was supporting her visitors more than vice versa, a feeling I've gotten from pen palling with political prisoners and prisoners of war! She concluded with how her mother, who had voted for Sen. Joseph McCarthy three times, smuggled a homemade chocolate chip cookie into prison for her in her bra! Ayers went on to read from the part of his new memoirs that dealt with this time.

The host brought up a part of the book regarding talking with Tea Partiers, and Ayers responded giving examples of talking with all kinds of people and the meaninglessness of labels.

Ayers was asked about his stance on Obama and Arnie Duncan's educational

policies. He talked about how both of their educational policies have a corporate nature involving privatization and standardized tests. He went on to say all kids should have access to the education children of these politicians get. He told some illustrative stories then Dohrn talked about the Chicago teachers' strike in 2012. Attacks on public education are an important part of the current capitalist/neo-liberal agenda. Resistance in places like Chicago are very important and potentially radical such as the occupation of the Whittier Field House in Pilsen, Chi back in '10.

Ayers emphasized how Obama is an admittedly moderate politician, and then Dohrn pointed out how it's irrelevant because "he sits in the throne of empire," we live in an empire in decline and we need to acknowledge that and organize at the grassroots. Ayers expanded on the need for grassroots organizing.

They were asked if the WUO ruined the movement and what advice they have for young radicals. Dohrn replied she had no advice for young people, but plenty for old ones, follow the youth! She praised groups like the Immigrant Youth Justice League and the queer movement and the wide anti-war sentiment from when Obama proposed military action against Syria. She talked about harnessing that momentum and also praised Code Pink. If I'm not mistaken all references to the queer movement were monolithic.

Ayers followed advocating that we all think about what we can do for peace everyday and act on it, not just when there's a war. He talked about how the G8 was prevented from meeting in Chi and described the NATO

HEAL FROM THE ROOTS

Restorative Justice for Sasha & Richard

Continued from Page 1

like Sasha's affect their sense of safety in the community, on campus, and even at home.

But most students seem not to have heard about Sasha. When some of my queer coworkers and I teamed up with the school's Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) last week to commemorate the national Transgender Day of Remembrance (TDoR), an annual memorial for trans and gender-variant folks who have been lost over the past year (many of them murdered), few students stopped at our table, where Sasha's picture was displayed prominently along with the names and photos of others who have been attacked or killed. Most staff and faculty passed by in silence, too.

Fortunately, those who did stop by long enough to see Sasha's portrait and hear their story expressed sorrow and regret at what happened to Sasha. Some of them even signed the GSA's trans ally pledge or wrote Sasha a "Get Well" card. For this lunch period at least, the mood was one of support, solidarity, and healing for Sasha. Joining them in solidarity were Sasha's classmates, teachers, parents, and friends, who had worn skirts to school and marched through East Oakland a week previously.

Outside the schools, however, the response has been different: an all-too-familiar combination of vilification and state power. The suspect, who is black, has been charged with two felonies, aggravated mayhem and assault, each with multiple hate crime enhancements, because Richard allegedly admitted he is "homophobic." The District Attorney, Nancy O'Malley, has decided to charge him as an adult, despite a public plea from Sasha and

rather than ignoring it, trivializing it, or blaming the victim. But this shouldn't make us think that the cops are on our side (or that if they were, our work would be done) or prevent us from thinking critically about systemic racism. Such a complacent narrative will never explain, much less hold anyone accountable for, the death of Kayla Moore, a black transwoman who died while in Berkeley Police custody last February.

This narrative also shouldn't prevent us from proposing radical alternatives to hate crimes

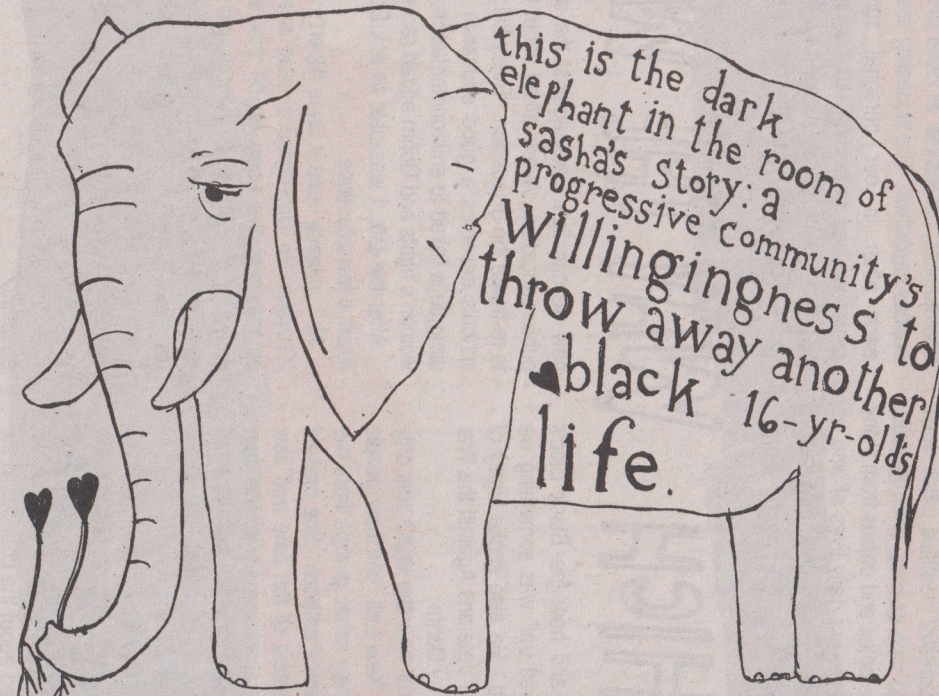
2) What are the needs and responsibilities of all affected?

3) How do all affected parties together address needs and repair harms?

With these guiding questions, restorative justice programs attempt to bring together victims, offenders, and volunteers from the affected community to find fair, non-Statist, mutually acceptable ways of repairing the harm. This can take many forms: victim-offender mediation, family group conferences, or peacemaking circles (*What's Love Got to*

The tragic irony here is that the same queer/trans folks who are tacitly, if not enthusiastically, supporting the use of hate crimes laws in the name of justice for Sasha have they themselves so often been the target of this same legislation, often for just trying to defend against repression. The fact that hate crimes laws disproportionately affect queers, trans/gender-variant folks, low-income folks, people of color, and especially those who inhabit many of these identities, has been so well documented that even liberal left groups like the ACLU now oppose hate crime sentencing enhancements.* And yet, instead of seeing common cause with Richard, those who reflexively seek retributive justice for Richard threaten to pit queers against people of color, letting the state play the role of mediator. Fortunately, the community has resisted this cynical move, and students of color at Richard's school and beyond have written letters of condolence and support to Sasha.

By all means, yes, let's call Sasha's attack the tragic act of violence that it was, and hold Richard accountable. We can be angry and scared and sad about what happened—these are all valid feelings, and I've been feeling them, too. But let's hold ourselves accountable as well, and in doing so, attempt to hold the state accountable too. Let's not confront one axis of oppression only to join with the state in reinforcing another one. Transphobic violence and ubiquitous, racist incarceration are both problems, and a 25-year sentence for Richard does nothing to solve the former while exacerbating the latter. A restorative approach challenges the state's monopoly on "justice," while offering an opportunity for mutual understanding and healing for Sasha and Richard.



laws and mass incarceration. Faced with this terrible act of violence, we ought to think restoratively. This means that we question the standard American criminal justice process, which Oakland-based restorative justice activist Fania Davis describes in Tikkun

Do with It?). In West Oakland middle schools, restorative justice programs have been hugely successful: in 2007, an initiative started by Restorative Justice for Oakland Youth eliminated expulsions and fights, and reduced suspension rates by 75%, enormous

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But most students seem not to have heard about Sasha. When some of my queer coworkers and I teamed up with the school's Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) last week to commemorate the national Transgender Day of Remembrance (TDOR), an annual memorial for trans and gender-variant folks who have been lost over the past year (many of them murdered), few students stopped at our table, where Sasha's picture was displayed prominently along with the names and photos of others who have been attacked or killed. Most staff and faculty passed by in silence, too.

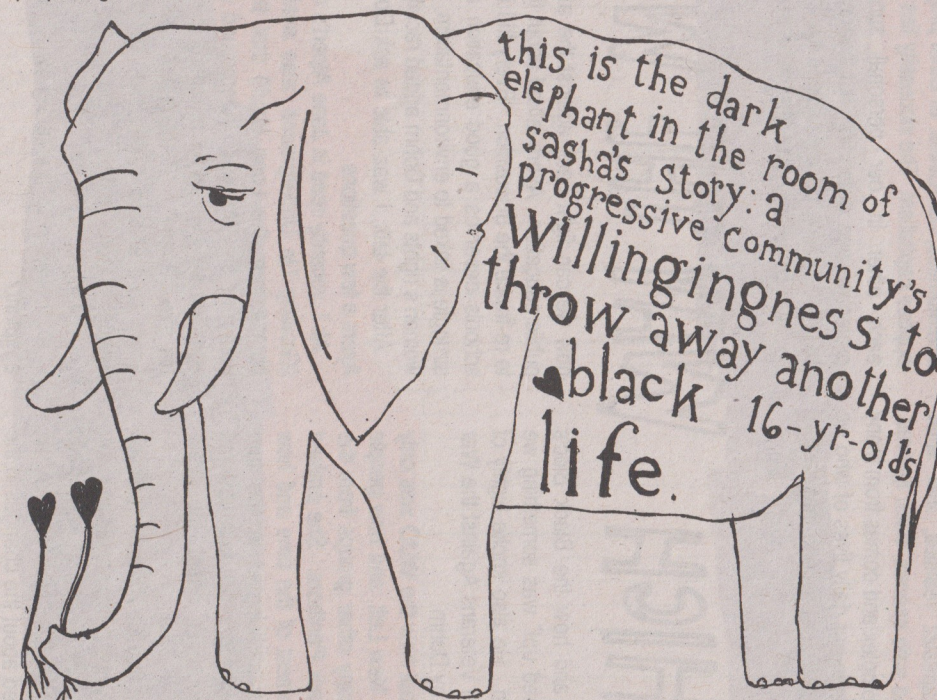
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Outside the schools, however, the response has been different: an all-too-familiar combination of vilification and state power. The suspect, who is black, has been charged with two felonies, aggravated mayhem and assault, each with multiple hate crime enhancements, because Richard allegedly admitted he is "homophobic." The District Attorney, Nancy O'Malley, has decided to charge him as an adult, despite a public plea from Sasha and their family to try Richard as a juvenile in family court. If convicted of both, he could face 25 years to life in prison. This is the dark elephant in the room of Sasha's story: a "progressive" community's willingness to throw away another black sixteen year old's life.

The media coverage on the Left has been complicit in this project, despite its good intentions. Documentarian Jason Cohen, for example, writing for the Huffington Post's Gay Voices column, compares the attack on Sasha to that of a gay teenager, Matthew Boger, who was beaten by neo-Nazis in Hollywood in 1980 (*How Hate Happens*). Cohen tells us how one

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laws and mass incarceration. Faced with this terrible act of violence, we ought to think restoratively. This means that we question the standard American criminal justice process, which Oakland-based restorative justice activist Fania Davis describes in *Tikkun* magazine as "retributive":

"The only way to pay back the debt and re-balance the scales is to be given your just deserts...Pain, suffering, isolation, deprivation, even death are often viewed as the only way to make right the wrong, the only way to pay back the debt and the only way to re-balance the scales...Instead of the person harmed who retaliates, it is our justice system that strikes back on the victim's behalf (*What's Love Got to Do with It?*).

The retributive way of administering "justice" is so deeply engrained in American culture that even those like Jason Cohen, who want

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Do with It?). In West Oakland middle schools, restorative justice programs have been hugely successful: in 2007, an initiative started by Restorative Justice for Oakland Youth eliminated expulsions and fights, and reduced suspension rates by 75%, enormous achievements that retributive justice could never have reached. The model has proven effective outside the schools as well, from juvenile sexual assault cases to robberies.

IS LOVE THE

By Heloise Ramone

American interactions with online dating

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years to life in prison. This is the dark elephant in the room of Sasha's story: a "progressive" community's willingness to throw away another black sixteen year old's life.

The media coverage on the Left has been complicit in this project, despite its good intentions. Documentarian Jason Cohen, for example, writing for the Huffington Post's *Gay Voices* column, compares the attack on Sasha to that of a gay teenager, Matthew Boger, who was beaten by neo-Nazis in Hollywood in 1980 (*How Hate Happens*). Cohen tells us how one of Boger's attackers, Tim Zaal, who was 17 at the time, later realized the harm he'd caused and went on to join Boger in giving presentations on tolerance, "embark[ing] on a difficult journey of reconciliation and forgiveness." For Cohen, Zaal's story shows how hate is learned, and can be unlearned, and encourages us to think about the "deep-rooted factors" that could have led Richard to set Sasha on fire, such as, Cohen speculates, the lack of LGBT adults in Richard's life. And yet Cohen mentions the numerous charges against Richard without for even a moment questioning his presumably lengthy incarceration.

The coverage on the Left, then, seems to recite the DA's proclamations about the horrific nature of the crime—and it was horrific indeed—but predictably fails to question the prison-industrial complex's (PIC) role as protector and its monopoly on the allocation of "justice." It fails to critique, in other words, how the effort to drum up public awareness and outrage about the attack coincides with the state violence of locking up another black teenager, at a time, according to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, when black youth are six times more likely to be incarcerated than white youth charged with the same crimes (*And Justice for Some*). At a time when, as litigator Michelle Alexander writes, more African-Americans are incarcerated than were enslaved before the Civil War (*The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*). Yes, queer, trans, and gender-variant folks ought to be cautiously optimistic that the police and the community are taking gender-based violence seriously,

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The retributive way of administering "justice" is so deeply engrained in American culture that even those like Jason Cohen, who want "reconciliation and forgiveness" for Richard and Sasha, cannot question it. Falling into the same trap, the editorial board of the SF Examiner declares that "we all need to focus on healing and learning," while maintaining that "there is no doubt that there needs to be punishment for the sixteen year-old [Richard]"

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(*Sasha Fleishman Sets Example*). Like Cohen, another way does not occur to them. But another way is possible: restorative justice holds that locking people in cages only increases the original wrong. Rather than focus on allocating individual blame and punishment, restorative justice seeks to repair harms for the victim, offender, and community alike, reconciling conflict instead of deepening it. It allows us to see how transphobic violence in the community and state violence behind bars share a common nexus. Restorative justice asks:

1) Who was harmed?

never have reached. The model has proven effective outside the schools as well, from juvenile sexual assault cases to robberies.

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IS LOVE THE

By Heloise Ramone

American interactions with online dating represent a compartmentalization of human social processes. It is either an answer for those who feel they do not have time to be present in the world or for those who have no desire for such engagement. The comfort of being matched with people labeled compatible on an essentially superficial basis outweighs the pleasures of spontaneity for users. More than 40 million Americans have used online dating platforms, yet people have not accepted the medium wholeheartedly.

A recent flurry of media coverage is either a cementing of the place of such sites or its death knell. Writing for New York Magazine, Maureen O'Connor makes the claim that "There is no difference between online and 'real-life' dating." For O'Connor, not only is online dating not different from real-life, but its benefits outweigh the problems, placing it in a secure position. "It's not an experiment we perform," she writes, "but a behavior integral to the creation and maintenance of modern relationships."

Friends who have used such sites have expressed concern over sexual predators who find their way onto a dating profile. Amanda Hess for Slate writes that the perceived desperateness of posting a dating profile may lead to its downfall. Arguably such perceptions, which polls show are common, already shape the nature of online dating. Are we falling in love with people or with constructed representations of what may or may not be? More than half of online daters have found a match they felt "seriously misrepresented themselves in their profile" (Hess). And there are actually services that are available for

people in which professional writers will do all the work. This can include everything from profile management to writing the messages that form a connection. The hapless person would just need to show up to the date and perhaps give the occasional "okay."

Online social processes create new forms of work for humans searching for friendship, intimacy, and love. Like O'Connor states, these are processes of maintenance – modern narratives of Late Capitalism, glimmerings of a future social order already predicted in whispers by tech grunts on break. With online dating, Jill Filipovic posits in her Guardian UK article, we are empowered to "reject someone politely and *efficiently*" (emphasis added). And like another online application for employment, we are put in the position to answer pages of



questions that cannot ever truly reflect our desires. The answer shouldn't be the regimentation of love with the proliferation of forms filled out during a lunch break or a commute. The time spent online would otherwise be spent on life-affirming activities (although obvious enough, a recently published study conducted by economist Scott Wallsten supports this notion). Paradoxically, many seek an escape from the flurry of web-mediated activity in online dating. The medium is the message. The forms that we use to connect change the nature of the connections



BEYOND

FATALISM



Continued from Page 1

We need to culturally and psychologically re-frame the way people think about climate change so we can get beyond being overwhelmed and instead focus on what we can do. It's impossible to be sure that anything we can do at this point will make a difference, but it is certain that if no one does something dramatic soon, we're screwed.

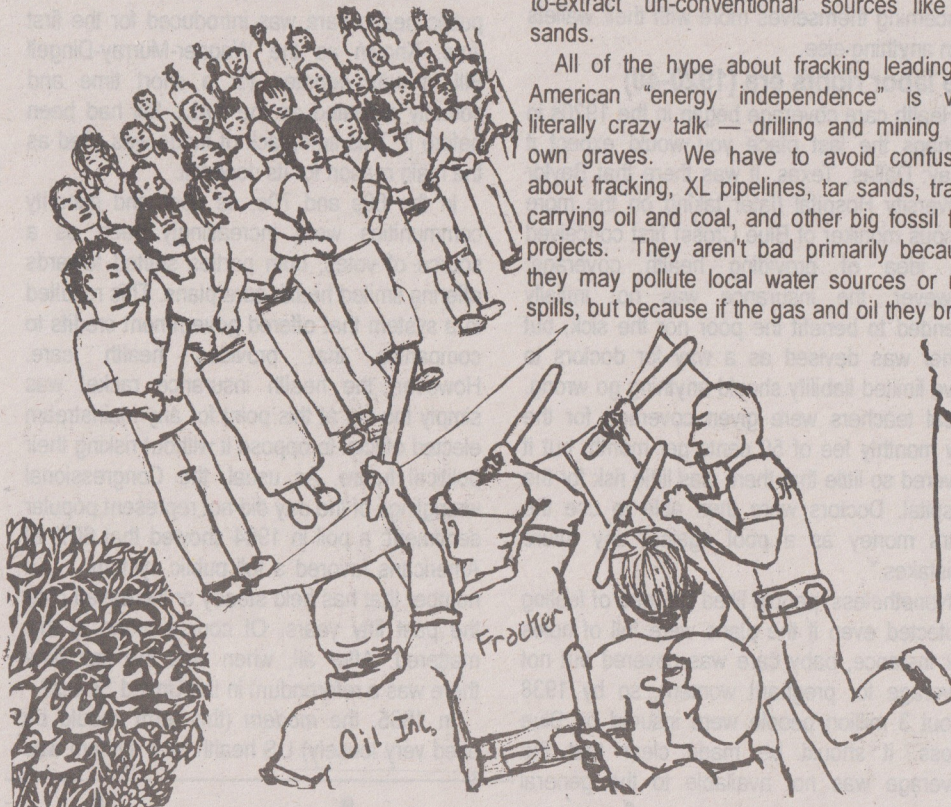
Just knowing the disturbing facts laid out in the Al Gore movie hasn't been enough — and in fact seems to have backfired. Rather than building momentum for people to make personal and systemic changes in the way we relate to the earth, widespread awareness of climate change has enhanced fatalism and resignation.

Our experience with Occupy offers a peek at how to proceed. As with global warming, Occupy tackled economic issues so overwhelming and complex that people had tuned out. Until we figured out how to (briefly) tune back in. What we need now is a revival and expansion of the energy behind Occupy directed at the economy *and* the ecology.

Building a popular uprising depends on breaking down psychological isolation and building community. Resistance has to flow from our hearts and be inspired by our humanity, excitement, engagement and direct participation. As we build a movement, we will build momentum, fearlessness, and the psychological resources necessary to overcome the way things are, and instead see the way things can be.

A successful movement addressing climate change must attack inequality and capitalism because a system organized by valueless competition and economic efficiency can't preserve the environment which is owned by no one and operates on its own separate internal logic. Capitalism necessarily seeks to maximize the human transformation and domination of nature — processing trees,

capitalism has mostly been about justice and fairness for the *humans* it enslaves, but now it must be about our survival as a species and defense of the Earth on which we depend. If the global environment collapses, the poor and those in the Global South will suffer first and worst since whatever food and water remains



will be seized by those with the most money and power in even more extreme ways than what already happens.

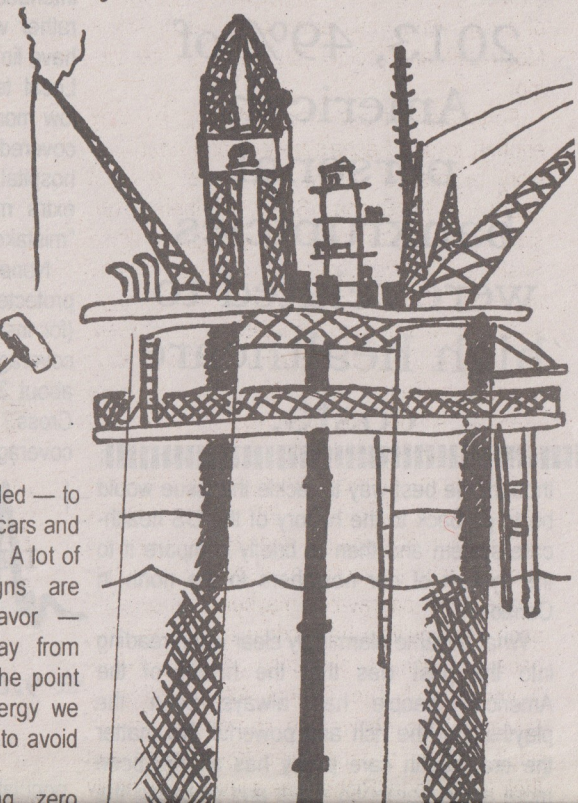
Bill McKibben quotes the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change as calculating that humans can emit a total of 565 gigatons more CO2 without going above a 2 degree C increase in global temperatures — an increase that might be manageable. For a sense of scale, humans emitted about 32 gigatons in 2012. Unfortunately, the London-based

gigatons of CO2 if burned. That means 80 percent of the fossil fuels that corporations have *already* discovered must not be burned. And yet the fastest growing part of the economy is environmentally destructive exploration and development of even more fossil fuels — increasingly focused on difficult-to-extract “un-conventional” sources like tar sands.

All of the hype about fracking leading to American “energy independence” is very literally crazy talk — drilling and mining our own graves. We have to avoid confusion about fracking, XL pipelines, tar sands, trains carrying oil and coal, and other big fossil fuel projects. They aren't bad primarily because they may pollute local water sources or risk spills, but because if the gas and oil they bring

Mandela observed, “it always seems impossible until it's done.”

As we focus on sparking and participating in a global uprising able to overturn the fossil fuel Goliath, are our personal actions irrelevant? Personal acts are not enough because they don't attack the economic systems that drive climate change, but they aren't irrelevant or pointless either. The world is the way it is because of webs of choices that everyone makes — powerful people as well as less powerful people. The market and economic structures restrict our individual choices and put many decisions in few hands. But at some level, the system supplies a fossil fuel-dependent world because people demand one. Fossil fuels enable a particular type of instant, throw-away existence and in turn socialize



to market are burned exactly as intended — to run our clothes dryers and propel our cars and airplanes — our asses will be cooked. A lot of anti-fracking and pipeline campaigns are taking on a not-in-my-backyard flavor — passing laws to keep impacts away from populated areas — but this misses the point and further confuses and diverts energy we need to build a successful movement to avoid climate chaos.

The first step towards achieving zero

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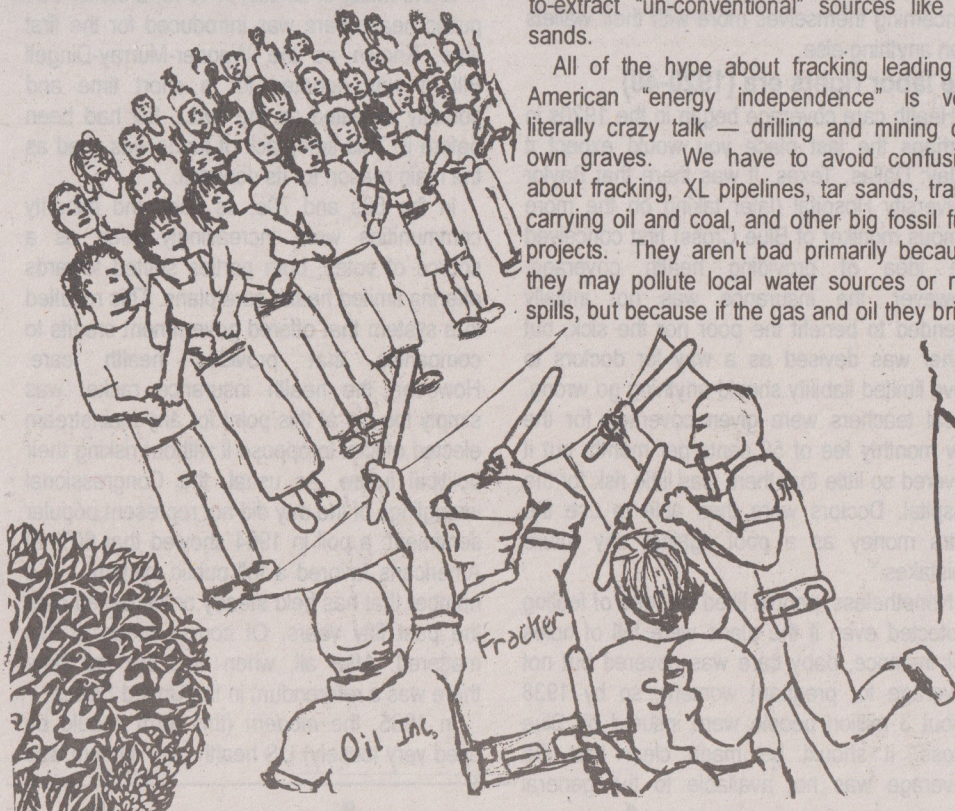
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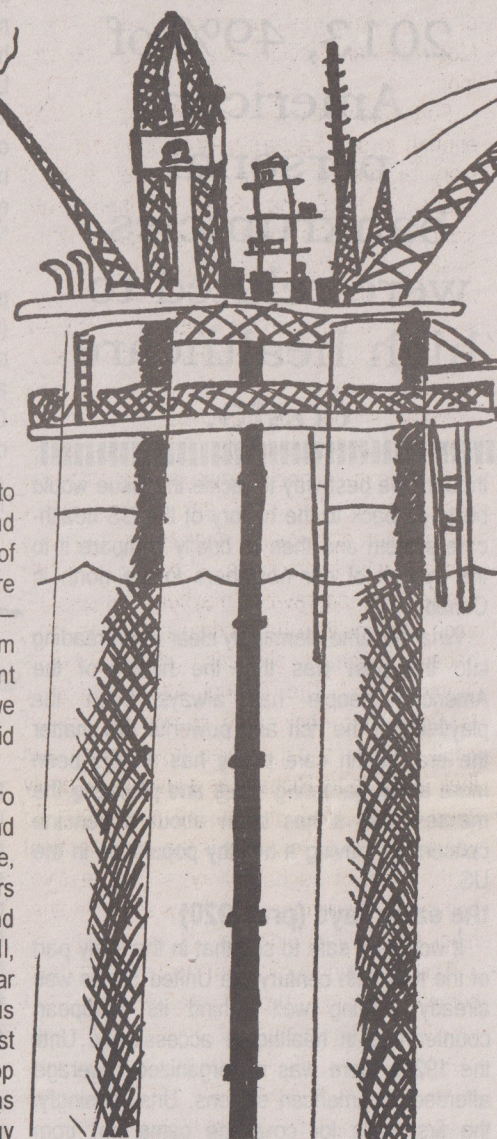
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All of the hype about fracking leading to American "energy independence" is very literally crazy talk — drilling and mining our own graves. We have to avoid confusion about fracking, XL pipelines, tar sands, trains carrying oil and coal, and other big fossil fuel projects. They aren't bad primarily because they may pollute local water sources or risk spills, but because if the gas and oil they bring

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The first step towards achieving zero greenhouse gas emissions needs to be an end to new investments in fossil fuel infrastructure, and a shift of the hundreds of billions of dollars annually spent to alternatives like solar, wind and conservation. At the beginning of WWII, the US rapidly converted its economy to war production, and quickly developed numerous new technologies for the war effort, most notably the atomic bomb. An uprising to stop climate change by achieving zero emissions needs to harness similar grassroots energy and creativity for positive goals, including in particular learning how to use less of everything.



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Economic and political transformation has to come with a parallel cultural transformation in which the individual lives we desire shift from

INTERNET?

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INTERNET?

made. An analogous situation can be found in the effects of texting on human conversation IRL. Yet advocates may stress that such results are negligible, given the overwhelming benefits.

"We all know that the Internet can be a powerful tool for connecting people," Amanda Hess writes, "so why do these sites still carry some stigma?" Users of dating interfaces often feel as if there is something missing from such processes. Still, people are drawn to the sites, which are often disembodied from the social reality we find ourselves in. As resilient as humans appear to be, problems present themselves in Internet searches for human connection — these are problems of representation. Users construct their profiles,

adolescence. People's lives are less important than the chance to make money. This often involves the direct exploitation of people's personal information.

There is an increased reliance on increasingly accessible devices for what might be considered administrative functions in our daily lives. The Internet has validated its importance in the eyes of many. What began as a government research project quickly drew the interest of hobbyists who treated the net as a new Citizens Band radio — connecting with interested individuals to exchange information. On the surface, this is all very benign. The threat is a fragmentation into a society of individuals that can more easily be consumed by capital. We become willing subjects, creating the consumable content, embracing our position as a complex statistic.

With a majority of Americans now on social networking sites, the decision to cease the process of identity creation online becomes more and more appealing. The challenge is how and if this decision will constitute a social consciousness not seen for some time. DeleteYourAccount.com provides a search service that allows you to find accounts connected to your name on thirty-six sites. From there, you'll find instructions for account deletion.

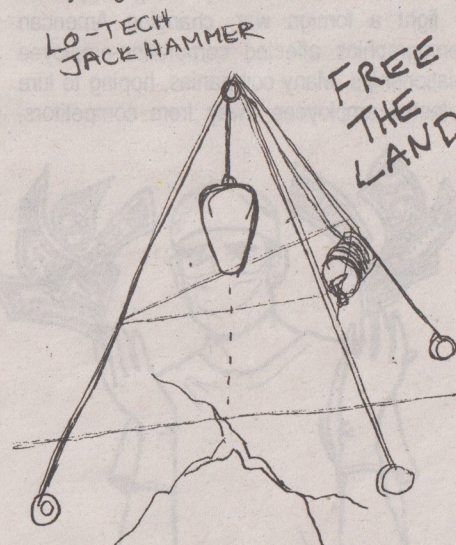
Because of an increased complexity of the means of social control through various media, we have become increasingly conscious of the limitations imposed by newly embraced technologies. At times, our familiarity with the game of social engineering affords us some agency. We must commit to taking this further. Will we dare to stand apart? Will we, despite our world-weariness, choose to step outside?

The forms that we use to connect change the nature of the connections made

selecting answers to questions that might not otherwise be posed or prove relevant. People are nonetheless drawn to the sites, while at the same time holding their reservations. The quest is disjointed and, in many ways, never really integrated into our lives. Ideally, online dating should negate itself — provide its escape. Is this not a necessarily desperate act?

What new enemies of life are being born in the online dating boom? Given the speed of business decisions and successes, many in tech become frozen in a perpetual

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Struggle outside and against the institutional structures is essential. There is no way to know precisely what will capture the hearts and imaginations of the billions of people who must together create this massive transformation. Given this, the key is for many people and groups to consistently test out different efforts, angles and ideas. Only through experimentation and diversity may we stumble on a way to break through the psychic paralysis that is gripping us.

During the summer of 2011, there was no reason to expect that Ad Busters' call to "Occupy Wall Street" would catch fire the way it ultimately did, when so many previous calls to action were ignored. History is full of such moments when particular people, events or actions succeeded at triggering change when previous efforts had been in vain. As Nelson

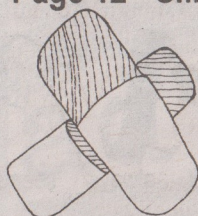
individuals who desire such a life.

Economic and political transformation has to come with a parallel cultural transformation in which the individual lives we desire shift from being about things to being about engagement; from consumption to community; and from living large to living lightly. Our daily choices to feel more happiness while using fewer resources are another form of experimentation and practice for such a cultural re-orientation.

These choices aren't about guilt — either directed at ourselves or others — but rather they express our humanity. We can feel more alive to the extent we're self-reliant, present, and active. The fossil fuel age has accompanied an insidious psychological slide towards distraction and meaninglessness as we've tried to replace every human skill and interaction with technology — begging the question of whether the world we've created even needs us, other than as passive consumers. Living more lightly on the Earth — transforming nature less and participating as a part of nature more — is about more than just averting climate catastrophe. In the end, the transformation we seek is about reclaiming what is really important about our lives from corporations and their mediated, fossil fuel-dependent cages.

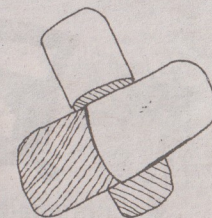
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PLAYTHING ^{OF THE} RICH

a history of US health insurance



Continued from Page 1

did not have care, can get it. Many on the Right believe that this new health-care plan, colloquially known as Obamacare, is the death knell of private enterprise as it pertains to health. On the Left, the reaction has ranged from praise for the Democrats for getting *something* done, to outrage that the new plan has no publicly-funded option and is still dominated by insurance industry. This partisanship over an issue as seemingly basic as health is perhaps more striking than discussing the details of the plan itself. I

Between 2010 & 2013, 49% of American personal bankruptcies were related to high healthcare costs.

thought the best way to tackle the issue would be to go back to the history of the US health-care system and then to briefly compare it to the system of our neighbors to the north in Canada.

What became alarmingly clear when reading into the past was that the health of the American people has always been the plaything of the rich and powerful. No matter the era, health care policy has always been more about garnering votes and placating the

One interesting note during this period is that this would be the first (and last) era where the American Medical Association (AMA) actually supported health care reform; from this moment forward doctors would be at the forefront of the anti-public health care crusade, concerning themselves more with their wallets than anything else.

the labor rights era (1920-40)

Health care coverage began in the 1920s in perhaps the last place you would expect it today: Dallas, Texas. It was there that Baylor University Hospital (later taking on the more famous moniker of Blue Cross) first conceived the idea of providing health coverage. However, the insurance was not initially intended to benefit the poor nor the sick, but rather was devised as a way for doctors to have limited liability should anything go wrong. Local teachers were given coverage for the low monthly fee of 50 cents per month, but it covered so little that there was little risk for the hospital. Doctors were then able to use the extra money as a pool against any future "mistakes."

Nonetheless, people liked the idea of feeling protected even if the plans were full of holes (for instance, baby care was covered but not coverage for pregnant women), so by 1938 about 3 million people were insured by Blue Cross. It should be made clear that the coverage was not available to the general

charge more or less based on age, gender, and previously existing health problems. Soon, it was only cheap for young, healthy, white men to get coverage. Everyone else was left with escalating premiums.

In the midst of all this, in 1943, a bill for true public health care was introduced for the first time. Known as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill, it was debated for a short time and soundly defeated as the AALL Bill had been before it. This time, lack of funds was cited as the main reason for its downfall.

In the 60s and 70s, as poor and minority communities were increasingly seen as a source of votes, both parties shifted towards offering limited health care plans. This resulted in a system that offered government credits to companies that provided health care. However, the health insurance racket was simply too big at this point for any mainstream elected official to oppose it without risking their political future. As usual, the Congressional wranglings of the day did not represent popular sentiment: a poll in 1964 showed that 60% of Americans favored a full public system . . . a number that has held steady or increased over the past fifty years. Of course, none of this mattered. After all, when was the last time there was a referendum in the United States?

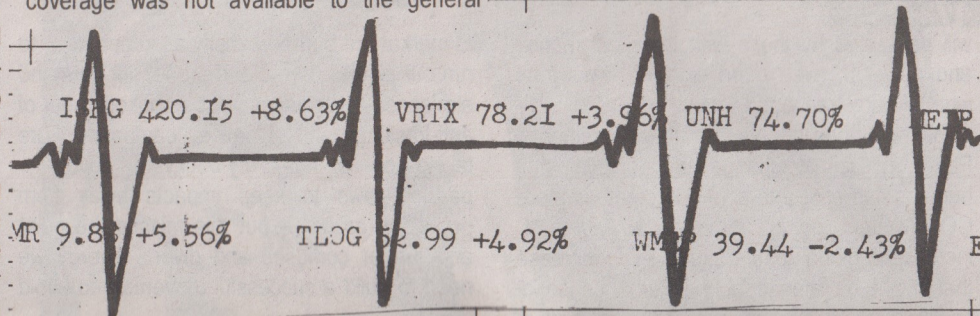
In 1965, the *modern* (this term should be used very loosely) US health care system was

"anti-Americanism." People who could not afford coverage were simply left by the wayside. (In 2013, that amounted to 46,000,000+ people or about 16% of the entire "legal" population.) The end-result is that the US now leads the so-called developed world in preventable deaths. What people may not realize is that this system is also ridiculously expensive for taxpayers even as it gives most of that federal money to corporations rather than actual human beings.

The health of the American people has *always* been the plaything of the rich and powerful

is obamacare different?

In a word, no (with some caveats). Essentially, the new system is an extension of all the schemes that came before it: it is based in classism, wholly supports the insurance industry, sees doctors as entrepreneurs rather than as public servants, and will not dramatically change things going forward. It is indeed a major accomplishment that millions of people now have access to health care and that people with pre-existing conditions can no longer be denied care. However, Medicare is still not a true public option, as it is still firmly entrenched in the private system. The other major alteration is the creation of the exchange system. This will allow all Americans to go to government-run exchanges where they can get an even-handed picture of which private



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What became alarmingly clear when reading into the past was that the health of the American people has always been the plaything of the rich and powerful. No matter the era, health care policy has always been more about garnering votes and placating the masses than it has been about a genuine concern for having a healthy population in the US.

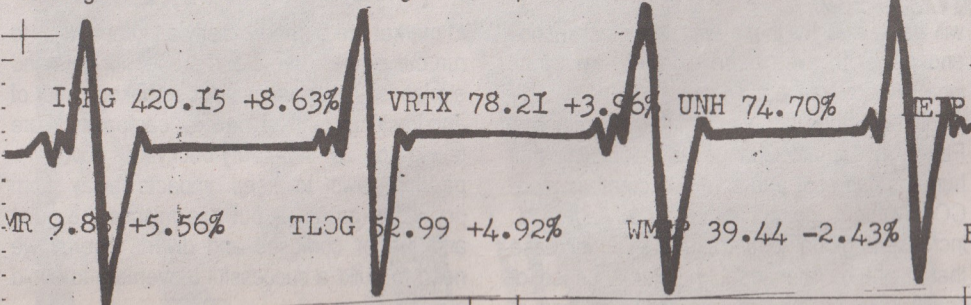
the early days (pre-1920)

It would be safe to say that in the early part of the twentieth century the United States was already lagging well behind its European counterparts in healthcare accessibility. Until the 1920s there was no organized coverage afforded to American citizens. Unsurprisingly, the first calls for coverage came not from governmental circles, but rather from the labor movement, which was gaining great strength in this period.

By contrast, male German workers were partially covered in 1883; Swedish workers in 1891; Danish in 1892; and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Norway, Switzerland, Britain, Russia and the Netherlands followed suit in 1912. Ironically, almost all of these initiatives were enacted not from leftist governments, but rather by conservative administrations fearing the rise of the working

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population, but was rather offered piecemeal to certain organizations (professional groups, clubs etc.) who were deemed "respectable" enough to be offered the plan. Doctors were now firmly entrenched in their position, having basically created a system designed to further enrich them at the expense of their clients.

the civil rights movement (1940-1970)

The first major shift in health policy occurred during World War II, as a labor shortage forced US companies to re-analyze their relationship with employees. Just as the women's rights movement grew from labor shortages caused by massive amounts of men being shipped off to fight a foreign war, changing American demographics affected corporation-employee relationships. Many companies, hoping to lure potential employees away from competitors,

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In 1965, the *modern* (this term should be used very loosely) US health care system was

founded with the formation of both Medicare and Medicaid. The former was designed to provide coverage for US citizens over the age of 65, while the latter was created to help subsidize coverage for those with low income and resources. This was done with a mostly-privately controlled system in mind — not coincidentally because the insurance companies themselves were often writing the revisions.

the modern era (1970-present)

The major shift in health care over the last forty years or so has nothing to do with the coverage itself, but rather with the expansion of the corporate-health alliance into new areas. Today, not only are doctors' associations and insurance companies spending millions to oppose real public coverage, but technological and pharmaceutical companies have been

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By contrast, male German workers were partially covered in 1883; Swedish workers in 1891; Danish in 1892; and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Norway, Switzerland, Britain, Russia and the Netherlands followed suit in 1912. Ironically, almost all of these initiatives were enacted not from leftist governments, but rather by conservative administrations fearing the rise of the working person and potential revolution. This pattern was followed in the US, albeit at a much slower pace.

In 1906, the American Association of Labor Legislation (AALL) proposed a solution which would cover local workers in much the same way that plans had elsewhere (any male making under \$1200 per year would be eligible). It took nine years, but in 1915 the bill was finally introduced into congress. It was crushed, and was never really seriously considered as an option by any of the major parties who retained seats. The core reason for the bill's defeat is one that is still well-understood today: red-baiting. Much of the debate in the house during that year centered not on health but rather on "Bolshevism" and the concern that giving people publicly funded health care would inevitably lead to a communist takeover. In addition, the bill-writers made a grave error by including the concept of death insurance in the act, thus taking on not only apathetic politicians, but also the already-massive and powerful insurance industry. Health insurance did not exist at that time per se, but life insurance certainly did, and those corporations were not ready to give up their stranglehold on the industry.

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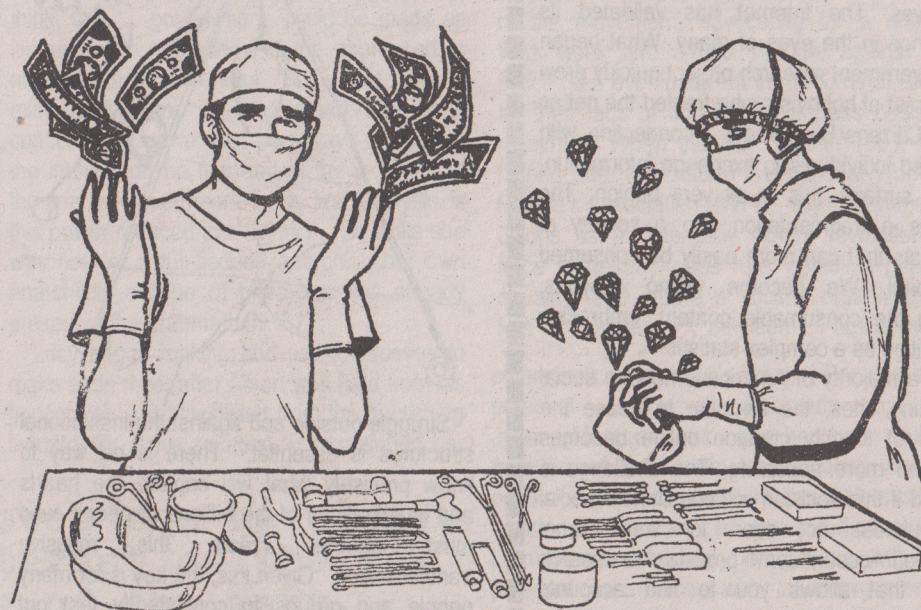
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offered corporation-paid health care for the first time from 1941-5. However, further paralleling women's labor participation during these years, plans were eliminated at the end of the war just as women were fired en masse in 1945.

Initially these plans actually benefitted the workers a great deal as access was equal (despite still being run by profit-driven private businesses). However, many loopholes were quickly closed with the introduction of the premium-system, which allowed the insurers to

added to the mix. These various lobby groups literally derive ALL of their income from people's ill-health. Any health system run by people who want people to be sick, hmm... that's like running a prison system that wants lots of criminals.

Any small gains made during the 60s were virtually eliminated by the Nixon-Reagan-Bush-Clinton-Bush administrations of the coming years as, once again, federally funded health care was aligned with such shiver-inducing words as "Communism," "Socialism," and

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HOW AFRAID THEY REALLY ARE

◦ RESISTING STATE REPRESSION OF ENVIRONMENTAL
◦ AND ANIMAL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

By Grayson Flory

On October 30, 2013, I was arrested outside of Miami with eight others at a protest put on by the grassroots animal rights group Smash HLS. Though this was the first time I had attended a Smash HLS protest, I had been following their actions long before I came to Florida. They formed to protest Huntingdon Life Sciences, or HLS, one of the largest animal testing companies on the planet. HLS was made famous, and bankrupted, by Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC), an international grassroots group that used above-ground tactics, including home demonstrations, mass call-ins and email protests, to put pressure on HLS as well as anyone working with the company. Now Smash HLS uses similar tactics to target companies in South Florida, and they have had impressive victories, including stopping five airlines from transporting primates for animal testing, and recently helping to close down a lab owned by animal testing supplier Primate Products.

The October 30 protest was at a facility owned by a company that breeds and transports primates for animal testing and entertainment. When I arrived the protest seemed to be pretty uneventful—just a dozen or so people standing around holding signs. But that all changed when a van from inside the facility drove up to the gate where I was standing and drove the vehicle directly into the crowd of protesters. It was my impression that one of my friends in the crowd had been hit and was in danger of being run over by the vehicle. I was screaming at the van to stop, but it did not—rather, it swerved back and forth, nearly hitting, and apparently aiming for, other protesters. Finally, about a quarter mile later, the van stopped. Suddenly I was

This is not an isolated incident, or an extreme case, but part of a pattern of growing federal and state repression of animal rights and environmental activists in this country. The government is hell-bent on squashing the people's mounting concerns over rampant environmental destruction and animal exploitation, as well as the groups and individuals willing to fight back against it, regardless of how peaceful and legal the activities of such activists are. Hacker Jeremy Hammond was just sentenced to 10 years for leaking documents from the intelligence firm Stratfor, which gathers intelligence on activists and uses it to stop their free speech and civil disobedience activities. Internal documents from TransCanada concerning the activists fighting the Keystone XL pipeline, as well as the recent Snowden leak regarding NSA spying and PRISM, demonstrate that more than ever the government and corporations are working hand-in-hand to target and eliminate activists, while law enforcement officers protect the illegal and destructive practices of those corporations.



making very clear. They do not target groups or individuals because of what they *do*, but rather because of who they *know* and what they *believe*. The GE Tree Roadshow was targeted because they were spreading a message that runs counter to the researchers, corporations, universities and government agencies that stand to profit from genetic engineering. They simply do not want the public to hear both sides of the story.

I was attending that day's Smash HLS demonstration in part so I could pass out fliers about Tyler Lang and Kevin Olliff, two animal rights activists from Los Angeles who were being held in Woodford County Jail in rural Illinois and charged with "possession of burglary tools." The fliers encouraged people to spread the word about their mistreatment at the hands of the jail, which was not allowing them access to books, a move which Kevin had been protesting with a hunger strike for over a week. Police at the Smash HLS protest arrested me before I was able to pass out the fliers. When my bag was finally returned, the stack of fliers had been removed and replaced with a pair of latex gloves. Thankfully, the book ban at Woodford County Jail was finally lifted while I was being held in Miami-Dade County jail, and Kevin was able to end his hunger strike. On November 6, Tyler was offered a plea deal, and is now free. Kevin is still inside, as a plea deal of two years in prison was rejected by the judge.

The absurdity of complaining about my treatment at the hands of the police while attempting to pass out fliers for Kevin and Tyler never escaped me. While the bail for all nine of us arrested at the Smash HLS event totaled over \$31,000, Tyler alone was slapped with a



All of the incidents I've mentioned occurred before anyone was convicted of a crime. The jail time, fines, interrogations and unjust treatment have taken place without anyone being found guilty of anything. And with good reason. The government knows that it is often very much full of shit. One of the activists arrested with me at the Smash HLS protest had already been arrested four times while demonstrating with the group, and charged with multiple crimes in most of the arrests, but in each case the charges were dropped. He has never been found guilty. Yet he has served jail time, been mistreated and threatened, and had to pay fines for bail as well as time spent in custody. Law enforcement does all it can to damage activist communities while it still has the upper hand—before the trial process, while it can punish without evidence. And so we spend our time and our few resources raising money to protect people that, for all we know, will soon be found innocent.

Of course, this doesn't stop us. Tyler attended an anti-vivisection protest the day after he got back home to LA, and has been organizing non-stop since. "When I found out that I was going to be released I knew then and there that I had to get back to activism, I had to get back to speaking out for animals as soon as possible. I knew that if I didn't I would be giving in to the state's attempts to silence dissent and effectively

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The officers bragged that they had been hiding and watching us, and had even videotaped the entire encounter. I don't know whether this is true—I tend not to put much faith in the statements of cops. But, if I'm to believe what they shouted at me while I was being slammed to the ground, kneed in the back and handcuffed, then it would appear as if they secretly observed us in a very dangerous

the Keystone XL pipeline, as well as the recent Snowden leak regarding NSA spying and PRISM, demonstrate that more than ever the government and corporations are working hand-in-hand to target and eliminate activists, while law enforcement officers protect the illegal and destructive practices of those corporations.



This relationship between law enforcement and corporations was demonstrated again four days before my arrest, when a group of activists from the Global Justice Ecology Project (GJEP) and Everglades Earth First! (EEF!) were giving presentations on the dangers of genetically engineered (GE) trees in Florida, for which they were banned from the University of Florida. They were not protesting, nor were they involved in any civil disobedience activities; they were simply informing those who wish to listen about this practice taking place in our own backyards, and the questionable science behind it.

This didn't stop the state from intervening when the group arrived at the University of Florida on October 26, where they were scheduled to give a presentation. The University of Florida has received millions of dollars in grants from the government to conduct research into GE trees, and thus has a strong interest in silencing all opposition to such research. At the UF campus, presenters and others with them were met by a group of police who told them that the presentation had been canceled, threatened the presenters with arrests if they did not leave the property, and banned all the individuals in

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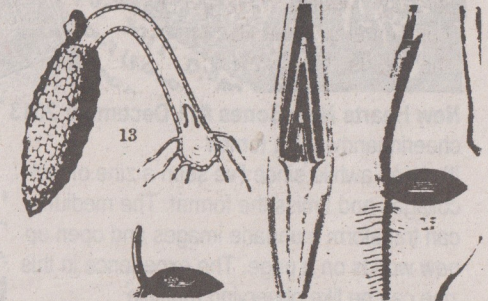
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This is made evident not just by the high bails, or by their inhumane treatment in the jail once it was discovered that they were animal rights activists (which included a refusal to provide medical consultations or adequate food, a removal of their access to email, the ban on books, and for Kevin, threats of force feeding), but also by the FBI's involvement in the case. Even though neither Tyler nor Kevin are charged with doing anything that had to do with their animal rights activities, it was reported on October 22 that the FBI has been questioning friends of Kevin and Tyler in Los Angeles, and even threatening some of these friends with prosecution for perjury. Clearly the state's goal is not simply to punish Kevin and Tyler for supposedly breaking a law, but to fracture and intimidate activist communities in general.



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world and the animals that we share it with. To me, after I was released from jail, I could not think of anything more important than that.”

On November 1, the day that I got out of jail, I attended the last GE Tree Roadshow presentation in Florida. It was very good, and not quite what I would call disruptive. There was a slide show, a few short videos, zines passed out, and an engaging discussion afterward. Audience members were shocked when they were told that this presentation had been banned at UF. Keith Brunner from GJEP, one of the presenters in the GE Tree Roadshow, indicated that all this could be a sign that activists are making a real



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situation and did nothing to intervene. I've since found out that one of the men in the van was an undercover police officer, yet he was laughing and flipping us off as they endangered our lives. The police clearly escalated the event with purpose, instructing the company employee driving the van to put our lives at risk in hopes of getting a reaction out of us. The activists involved received charges ranging from disorderly conduct to assault. The police allege that the nine of us "attacked" the vehicle, and the prosecution claims we caused \$4,600 in damage. While we were arrested, the driver of the van was allowed to go without question, and is facing no charges.

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Four days later, the day of the Smash HLS protest, the GE Tree Roadshow was slated to give a presentation to students at Palm Beach State College in Boca Raton, Florida. That morning, Campus Provost Dr. Bernadette M. Russel received a phone call from the FBI warning her about the presentation and claiming that the presenters were known to be "disruptive." Russel told the student who organized the event that she must get permission before inviting the presenters or their groups to the campus again, and posted a security guard outside the room during the presentation.

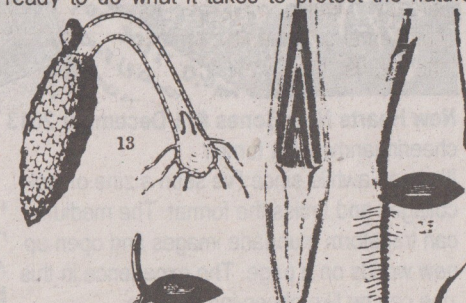
The police, FBI, and universities were trying to silence an educational roadshow practicing free speech activity at universities to which they were personally invited by students and professors. But that's the pattern that the government is

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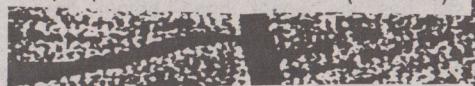
On November 1, the day that I got out of jail, I attended the last GE Tree Roadshow presentation in Florida. It was very good, and not quite what I would call disruptive. There was a slide show, a few short videos, zines passed out, and an engaging discussion afterward. Audience members were shocked when they were told that this presentation had been banned at UF. Keith Brunner from GJEP, one of the presenters in the GE Tree Roadshow, indicated that all this could be a sign that activists are making a real impact. "State surveillance and repression of resistance movements is nothing new, and I believe we can expect to see more of it as our movements against oppression and domination grow stronger and more effective."

It isn't anything new, just another incident. The Green Scare wasn't very long ago. Jerry Koch is still incarcerated in New York in a Grand Jury investigation for refusing to talk about who he knows and what he believes. What happened at the Smash HLS protest is barely a blip on the radar. Despite how much I thought I knew about the subject, this was a reality check for me personally. No matter how safe and responsible I am myself, I cannot predict or control what the government will do when they feel their agenda is being threatened. But like Tyler said, fear tactics only work on us when we let them. Even though we're the ones getting locked up, it's the government and corporations that are showing how afraid they truly are.

...important in
...values, expres
...the newer into
...ing Eric's concern
...interviews with s
...The Match come
...best J. J.



Zines are a powerful tool in today's world, especially for the people who make them. Within these pages you can be as creative, political, and personal as you want to be without being edited or silenced. As the NSA begins to spy on our every move, there's more reason to make and read zines to keep our lives offline. These tiny, stapled manifestos aren't just a source of information, but a means of communication. Any zinester will tell you that they've found a few penpals, band mates, or close friends thanks to the zines that they've created. As if that's not a reason to get involved, we're also helping to fight capitalism. Our self-copied and printed mags hold more value than money within the underground world and often times, can be traded not just for other zines, but for tapes at a punk show or free coffee and food at your favorite collective bakery. Every year we see handfuls of new zine fests popping-up, along with hundreds of new titles made by those who are inspired. This is proof that zines are very much alive. Some of the zines reviewed on this page are brand new, while others have been around before most of us even knew what a zine was. We hope you find a new favorite zine to read or maybe even a new penpal and friend to write to. (Vanessa)



Dayglo Ay Hole

c/o Ben Passmore 335 Jane Pl.
New Orleans, LA 70119

When this comic came in for *Slingshot!* to review I was a bit skeptical of it thinking it was gonna be a total brofest upon first glance (there is a character that looks eerily like many VXX hardcore kids I know!--not that they're all bros or anything...). I decided to give it a chance mainly because I appreciate the effort it takes to produce a (color!) comic

The Hen Fall Fuckery 2013

theboulderhen@gmail.com
710 31st St Boulder, CO 80303

A new publication that captures some of the stray voices that pass through a local info shop. There is some variety in subject and tone. Intelligent article on gender is noteworthy yet probably wouldn't make sense to most people outside the radical community with its language and topic. Other articles can tip more into the rant category. Lots of anger on some pages while others have an ultra-sensitive critique of their own messages. At best the anger is cut with a raw humor (multiple titles proclaiming FUCK). The zine so far represents a lively underground burning next to a college in a mountain city – a document that whole continents are being formed in tiny liberated spaces. (eggplant)

Kids of the Black Hole: Perspectives On The North American Punk House

edited by Bryan May
brybry at riseup dot

Mostly dealing with Punk Houses in Portland, Oregon and Santa Cruz, California where the editor has lived, there's also one article about an old Punk House in Portland, Maine, the Coyle St. House. This is a long overdue contribution to the body of literature dealing with different forms of collective living. Articles, artwork and photography are mixed well, though the tone is largely negative. Far better than the fluff pieces that usually circulate that make out collective living to be the be all and end all with little or no imperfections, it's largely a synopsis of everything that can go wrong with living in a Punk House, with little of what makes it one of my favorite forms of collective living. (Alex Iwasa)

MalintZINE #1

malintzine.com

A zine by radical women involved with the struggle for Mexican American Studies (MAS) in Tucson, Arizona. Mostly prose, there's a lyrical sense in most of the writing that gives the whole zine flow along with the poetry, and creative formatting from page to page similarly interacts with the art. Sexual assault, a gay bashing, and fat phobia are confronted within communities of color and the struggles against racism and for MAS. Suggested listening through a mix tape page and suggested reading are also included. (Alex Iwasa)

Asswipe #5

asswipemagazine@gmail.com
\$2/Trade

This is an "interview and other stuff" issue conducted with the likes of Bay Area local musicians/other crafty people. To me it reflects accurately on the spontaneous nodes of a complex web of creative energy that brings many of us to crowded and low-lit spaces to witness its outlet. This ish of AW, I think, is a great starting point for people wanting to plug into the local scene in its wondrous expansiveness and potential. (torn)

Heavy Lidded: Scenes From the Bummer Punk Epoch

yacobdafisk@gmail.com
\$2 or trade

The bummer punk scene in Oakland is explained by Yacob, an experimental, noise-punk musician. Printed are his lyrics from various bands that he's been in. The lyrics are relatable, poetic, and bleak. The frantic layouts match the words inside and at the end, there's a short children's story about a

Winterview #0, Summer 2013

winterviewpunk@gmail.com,
winterviewpunk.wordpress.com

Premier issue of Winterview, a music fanzine covering a good chunk of the punk/hardcore/DIY music scene in Greece. This issue is filled with thoughtful and sincere interviews that capture the current state of the Greek punk and hardcore scenes. Highlights include an interview with Mike from 'Up the Brushes,' a flier-obsessed punk who posts and collects fliers on his website. There's also a scene report on Patras City that gives a brief history of the various squats and collectives that host punk shows in this area. The content in this zine makes up for the sparse layouts and I can't wait to read future issues and keep up with the Greek music scene. (Vanessa)

Dwelling Portably December 2013

Po Box 181
Alsea, OR 97324

Tips on how to keep food cool, bike riding for beginners, assembling rigs to carry on back packs and other things you should have been taught in school. If you're looking to live on the cheap, efficiently and close to the patterns of nature this will feed you on the long run. Descriptions of removing a tick using a thorn burned my inner eye. It's like an austere Farmer's Almanac or Whole Earth Catalog with almost no graphics or layouts separating the flashes of wisdom. As with those established resources there is a real sense of a conversation going on in these pages. Personally not all this technical info can make my eyes wet, but you might be into nautical tips when the lights go out and the water rises. (egg)

The Match - #112

PO Box 3012 Tucson, AZ 85702
\$3 or donation

Living up to its name, The Match is a great

mags hold more value than money within the underground world and often times, can be traded not just for other zines, but for tapes at a punk show or free coffee and food at your favorite collective bakery. Every year we see handfuls of new zine fests popping-up, along with hundreds of new titles made by those who are inspired. This is proof that zines are very much alive. Some of the zines reviewed on this page are brand new, while others have been around before most of us even knew what a zine was. We hope you find a new favorite zine to read or maybe even a new penpal and friend to write to. (Vanessa)

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New Hearts New Bones #11 December 2013

cheeringandwaving.tumblr

It's been awhile since I've seen a zine of just collages and I miss the format. The medium can transform mundane images and open up new worlds on a page. The experience in this zine can be like observing multiple conversations at a party. While some of the content here does this and does it well, other pages are cluttered and mysterious. Checking this out is a good way to break out of constrictive reality. (egg)

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Wiseblood

c/o Fishspit 1304 175th pl. N.E.
Bellevue, WA 98008

Have a beer with this zine. Like all nights drinking the stories might start to spin into big tales of comic proportions. The ones here seem preoccupied in telegraphing outrage and anarchy (as it is practiced after 30 years of punk). With over 50 issues out there "Fishspit" looks to have his fingers warm typing — trying to get some laughs going on this cold planet. (eggplant)

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Something For Nothing #68

516 third st NE
Massillon OH 44646

The introduction admits that fatigue has slowed down production on this issue but it would be hard to tell if he didn't say so. The reviews of soda, zines, books, and music continue SFN's work documenting overlooked gems in our environment. Also enclosed is a deeper look at an obscure band written using a mix of styles including discography, review and autobiography. Appreciating teenagers who play music such as Hogan's Heroes proves to be unusual—as well as the kind of journalism that is often exclusive to zines. The layout has more care than most people do in maintaining their car. This ride has been rolling for quite sometime and its free seat makes it inviting to get into it. (egg)

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PO Box 3012 Tucson, AZ 85702

\$3 or donation

Living up to its name, The Match is a great anarchist rag that will spark thoughts and ideas inside your head. Its tone is intelligent and clear, a little long-winded at times, but not too preachy, which I enjoyed. My favorite essays were about the evils of alternative newspapers, namely the weeklies that you can find in every major city, and the debate regarding the SF Anarchist Book Fair and sex workers' rights. The letter and review sections are highly entertaining and I appreciate the time and thought that Fred, the editor, puts into creating this paper. (Vanessa)

Trash Heap #1,2,3

23 S. Owyhee St.
Boise ID 83705

A lot of heart can be found in this chronicle of North Western counter-culture. And not the usual degeneracy is on display. The writer is a recent escapee from a Christian upbringing and an even more recent retiree from being a dirty traveling kid. Shameless references to both experiences are tied into the bigger questions of punk, friendship and having some excitement for life still as America works to deaden everyone's senses. (egg)

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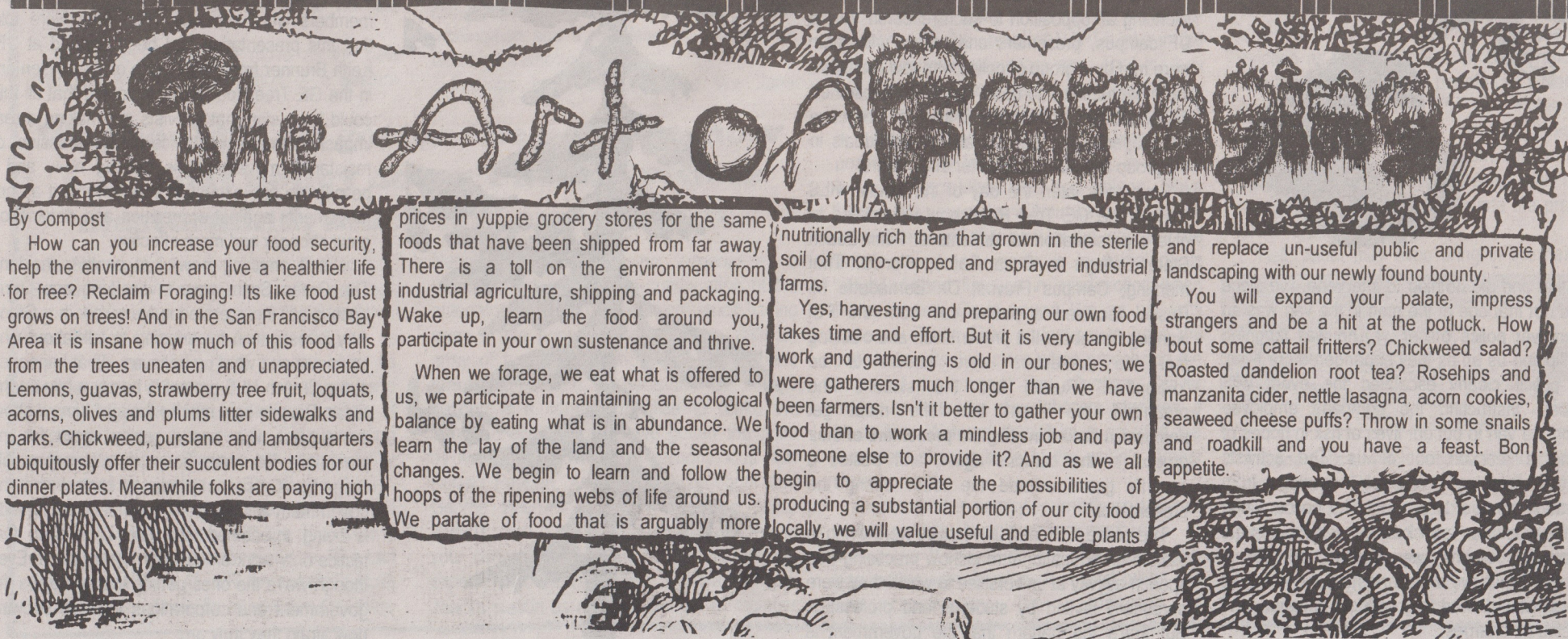
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The Art of Foraging

By Compost

How can you increase your food security, help the environment and live a healthier life for free? Reclaim Foraging! Its like food just grows on trees! And in the San Francisco Bay Area it is insane how much of this food falls from the trees uneaten and unappreciated. Lemons, guavas, strawberry tree fruit, loquats, acorns, olives and plums litter sidewalks and parks. Chickweed, purslane and lambsquarters ubiquitously offer their succulent bodies for our dinner plates. Meanwhile folks are paying high

prices in yuppie grocery stores for the same foods that have been shipped from far away. There is a toll on the environment from industrial agriculture, shipping and packaging. Wake up, learn the food around you, participate in your own sustenance and thrive.

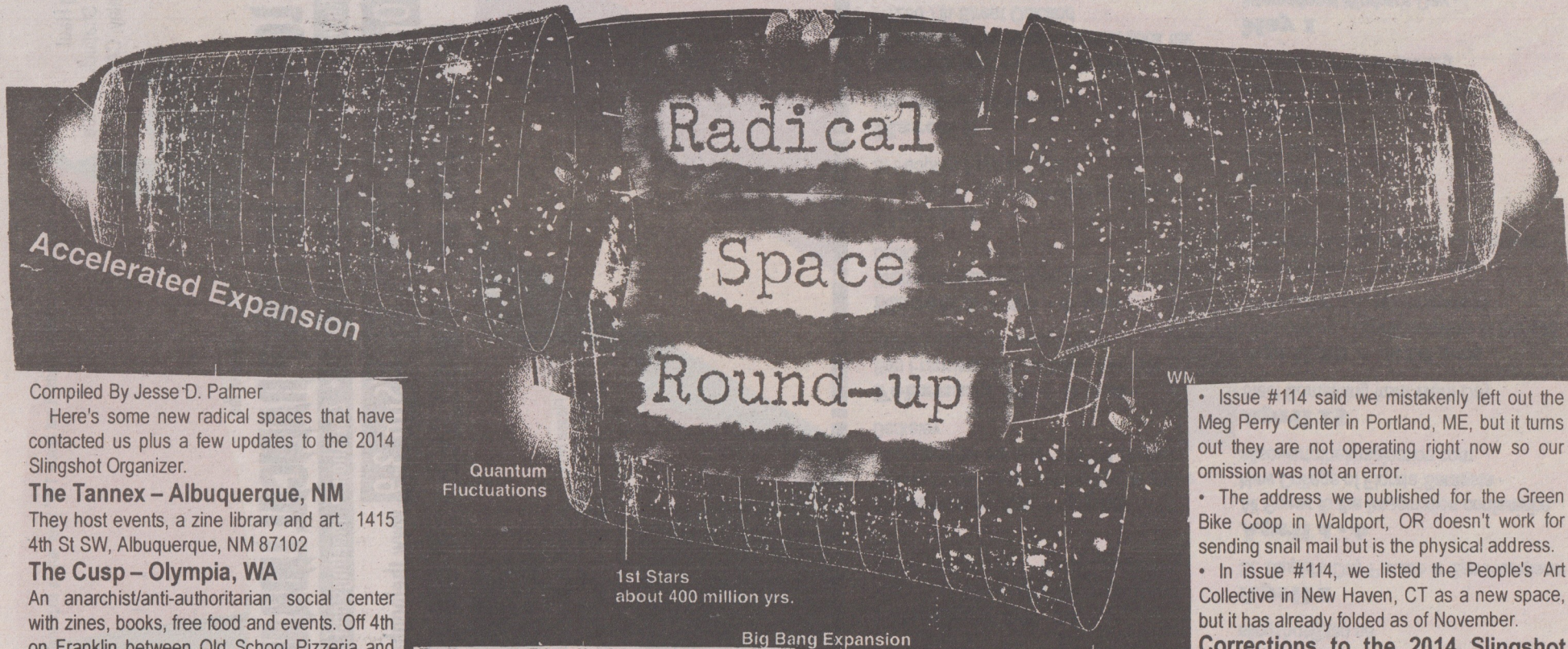
When we forage, we eat what is offered to us, we participate in maintaining an ecological balance by eating what is in abundance. We learn the lay of the land and the seasonal changes. We begin to learn and follow the hoops of the ripening webs of life around us. We partake of food that is arguably more

nutritionally rich than that grown in the sterile soil of mono-cropped and sprayed industrial farms.

Yes, harvesting and preparing our own food takes time and effort. But it is very tangible work and gathering is old in our bones; we were gatherers much longer than we have been farmers. Isn't it better to gather your own food than to work a mindless job and pay someone else to provide it? And as we all begin to appreciate the possibilities of producing a substantial portion of our city food locally, we will value useful and edible plants

and replace un-useful public and private landscaping with our newly found bounty.

You will expand your palate, impress strangers and be a hit at the potluck. How 'bout some cattail fritters? Chickweed salad? Roasted dandelion root tea? Rosehips and manzanita cider, nettle lasagna, acorn cookies, seaweed cheese puffs? Throw in some snails and roadkill and you have a feast. Bon appetite.



Compiled By Jesse D. Palmer

Here's some new radical spaces that have contacted us plus a few updates to the 2014 Slingshot Organizer.

The Tannex – Albuquerque, NM

They host events, a zine library and art. 1415 4th St SW, Albuquerque, NM 87102

The Cusp – Olympia, WA

An anarchist/anti-authoritarian social center with zines, books, free food and events. Off 4th on Franklin between Old School Pizzeria and Dumpster Values in downtown Olympia, thecusp@riseup.net, thecuspolympia.tumblr

The Birdhouse – Knoxville, TN

A community space for events with a workshop, library, art gallery and garden. 800 N 4th Ave. Knoxville, TN 37917 birdhouseknoxville.com

Word Up Community Bookshop / Librería Comunitaria — NYC, NY

A volunteer-run, multilingual, bookshop and arts space. 2113 Amsterdam Avenue New York, NY 10032 347-688-4456 info@wordupbooks.com

Little Grill Collective – Harrisonburg, VA

A worker owned restaurant with vegan options. 621 N. Main St. Harrisonburg, VA 22802 540-434-3594

Goathead Record Collective – Albuquerque, NM

Quantum
Fluctuations

1st Stars
about 400 million yrs.

Big Bang Expansion

Rojinegro Distribuidora Libertaria - Bogota, Colombia

Local Family DIY silk screening business and place to get revolutionary music (punk, metal, hip-hop, etc) as well as publications, and local concert info. cra. 19 # 43-25 Bogota, Colombia Tel. 245 3623 distribuidorarojinegro.blogspot.com

Librería Valija de Fuego - Bogota, Colombia

Anarchist and related subject bookstore. Calle 45 No 20-45 Bogota, Colombia Tel: 338 2065 - 312 3971982 librerialavalijadefuego.blogspot.com

Café Teatro Kussi-huayra - Santander, Colombia

Cafe, theatre, cultural space. Carrera 9 No. 9-15, Piedecuesta, Santander, Colombia Tel: 316 5854445 escuelaamariogonzalez.blogspot.com

La Redada – Bogota, Colombia

Renew Collective - Appalachia, VA

A house that hosts interns focused on local struggles and sustainability. Call or email for info 276-565-2073 Renew.Collective@gmail.com (note: they spell it Renew – 2 r's)

Flaming Eggplant - Olympia, WA

A student-worker run cafe on the Evergreen State College campus with a zine library and free store in the back. They serve vegan/ethical food. Third floor of the CAB building - 2700 Evergreen Parkway NW Olympia, Washington 98505 blogs.evergreen.edu/theflamingeggplant

Colectivo Jaguos por el Territorio – Huila, Colombia

A horizontally-organized youth collective based in small rural village that focuses on ecological/territorial defense, permaculture, recuperation of memory and identity and libertarian movements & organization. Centro Poblado La Jagua. Garzan, Huila, Colombia

• Issue #114 said we mistakenly left out the Meg Perry Center in Portland, ME, but it turns out they are not operating right now so our omission was not an error.

• The address we published for the Green Bike Coop in Waldport, OR doesn't work for sending snail mail but is the physical address.

• In issue #114, we listed the People's Art Collective in New Haven, CT as a new space, but it has already folded as of November.

Corrections to the 2014 Slingshot Organizer

• We forgot to include the Black Coffee Coop in Seattle, WA. They are at 501 E. Pine St. Seattle, WA 98122 blackcoffeecoop.com.

• The GNU Gallery in Ft. Collins, CO lost their space.

• The LUNk Collective House in Lincoln, NE changed their name and location. They are now the Common Root Mutual Aid Center at 3333 Cleveland Ave, Suite 1, Lincoln, NE 68504, commonroot.net.

• We didn't list the Pangea House in Minot, North Dakota because we weren't sure of their address. They moved and are now at 110 1st St. SE Ste. C Minot, ND 58701

• The Dream City Collective in Washington DC is no longer active.

• In the spiral organizer, the section for Brazil under "Latin America" says Argentina, not Brazil.

• We got an email telling us that we should not include the BRVCC House in Louisville, KY.

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Goathead Record Collective – Albuquerque, NM

Independent, radical folk and punk record collective. 310 Stanford Dr. SE, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106 Firefang@comcast.net

Downstream project and Spring Village ecology center – Harrisonburg, VA

A community house in the lineage of Catholic Worker houses with an urban garden. They grow food for local schools and food deserts and experiment with fossil fuel-free living. 715 N. Main St. Harrisonburg, VA 22802 540-434-4745. Everyday Bikes provides a community bike shed at the same location: 540 432-3696

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La Redada – Bogota, Colombia

Miscellaneous cultural space that is a network of local cultural, political action and artistic collectives. Calle 17 No. 2-51, Bogota D.C., Colombia, laredada.org

Centro Social y Cultural Libertario – Medellin, Colombia

Anarcho-info shop type space. Calle 46 Maturin No. 40-8 Medellin / Planeta tierra Tel: 239 40 69 centrosocialyculturalibertario.wordpress

Red Juvenil – Medellin, Colombia

Medellin's youth network organization for arts against capitalism, militarization & patriarchy. Calle 47 # 40-53, Medellin, Antioquia, Colombia, Tel: (4) 2393670 redjuvenil.org

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Errors in issue #114 of Slingshot

• Last issue we incorrectly stated that the Candlelight Collective in West Bend, WI no longer existed — and that West Bend WI, itself, did not exist. In fact, West Bend and Candlelight exist. The address published in the 2014 organizer is correct. The error we were trying to correct was that the Candlelight Collective address is also listed under Indiana. That listing is wrong — Candlelight is in Wisconsin, not Indiana. There is a West Bend in both Indiana and Wisconsin. Sorry for the error.

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- The same email told us that we should not list the Social Justice Center in Madison, WI. It is hard for us to fact-check the allegations in the email so folks can investigate these projects for themselves.
- We published the wrong zip code for Red Emma's in Baltimore — it should be 21201.
- It seems like the Bike City Recyclery in Fayetteville, AR closed — we got mail returned from them and their webpage is inactive.
- The address for Denk-mal in Bern Switzerland has has changed. They are now located in a larger space at Lagerweg 12, 3013 Bern Switzerland.

Slingshot long Range Development Plan, 2005:

A society that has abolished all forms of adventure, makes its own abolition the only possible adventure.

brigades of Paris to the walls of Barrington

WANT TO MAKE SLINGSHOT EVEN BETTER

By Alex Iwasa

When I first read Slingshot around the turn of the century I wasn't impressed at all. I can't remember why, I just didn't like it. Years later in either late 2005 or early '06 I found myself

Smash the University

If I'm not mistaken, pretty much every issue includes a call for submissions in the introduction. Though I've been writing

In other words, I would recommend that radical writers and artists please consider submitting your work to Slingshot. Even if your first submission doesn't get printed, please

For non-writers and artists living in or visiting the San Francisco Bay Area, please consider volunteering for the collective. There are many ways to plug in and help from typing to folding and taping copies of the

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• The same email told us that we should not list the Social Justice Center in Madison, WI. It is hard for us to fact-check the allegations in the email so folks can investigate these projects for themselves.

- We published the wrong zip code for Red Emma's in Baltimore — it should be 21201.
- It seems like the Bike City Recyclery in Fayetteville, AR closed — we got mail returned from them and their webpage is inactive.
- The address for Denk-mal in Bern Switzerland has changed. They are now located in a larger space at Lagerweg 12, 3013 Bern Switzerland.

Slingshot long Range Development Plan, 2005:

A society that has abolished all forms of adventure, makes its own abolition the only possible adventure.

WANT TO MAKE SLINGSHOT EVEN BETTER

Smash the University

By Alex Iwasa

When I first read Slingshot around the turn of the century I wasn't impressed at all. I can't remember why, I just didn't like it. Years later in either late 2005 or early '06 I found myself at one of the worker-run cafes in Portland, Oregon at the time, the Red and Black, without reading material. I grabbed a recent copy of Slingshot and read it cover to cover, enjoying every article!

Knowing myself, I'm sure at least some of the change in perception was from my own personal growth — or the other way around depending on how you look at it! I'm also sure at least some of my change in opinion came from what was possibly a whole different slew of contributors from the first couple issues I perused of Slingshot, and the first one I actually read and enjoyed all the way through. Since then, my readings of Slingshot have been mostly somewhere in the middle.

If I'm not mistaken, pretty much every issue includes a call for submissions in the introduction. Though I've been writing political material and trying to get my work published much longer than I've been reading Slingshot, this didn't register with me for years. The first submission I made wasn't accepted for publication, and I was asked to edit my second but didn't. Some months later after writing another version of the second submission, an article about writing prisoners for the website People of Color Organize! I also sent it to Slingshot and it was accepted with a major addition from the collective which made it far better, and became a new draft which was published by both the journal and website People Not Profit.

In other words, I would recommend that radical writers and artists please consider submitting your work to Slingshot. Even if your first submission doesn't get printed, please don't be discouraged but think about trying to get something else of yours in.

Something else I'd really like to see in Slingshot are more stories written about the various projects in the Slingshot Radical Contact List written by the participants. I think it would also make Slingshot more of a newspaper, which I had pointed out to me in a critique of my original draft where I referred to Slingshot as a journal, it is the paper's intention to carry news. All over the world people are facing similar struggles and the more news submitted to Slingshot about the ways people are resisting capitalism, heteropatriarchy and white supremacy will benefit all of us greatly.

For non-writers and artists living in or visiting the San Francisco Bay Area, please consider volunteering for the collective. There are many ways to plug in and help from typing to folding and taping copies of the paper for mailing. It's a truly collective process and a great deal of fun, for the most part. We critique the articles submitted as individuals, but then discuss and pick them for editing and or publication as a group. Individuals volunteer to do layout for specific pages, but again the whole group evaluates the final pages. Slingshot is also pretty generous with throwing down for food on the long workdays. Eating, listening to music and all the discussion both in regard to the paper and whatever else comes up are all a huge part of the process.

SLINGSHOT

Volume 1, Number 31

SUBSCRIBE!

October 1989

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Berkeley, California

STOP THE WAR

HOMELESS MARCH IN ATLANTA

LETTING IS IN THE AIR

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Make a Date

February 1 • noon

Protest San Francisco nudity ban - Body
freedom parade - gather at Castro & 17th
St. MyNakedTruth.TV

February 14 • 8 - 9 am

Dance Across the Golden Gate Bridge -
One Billion Rising - gather at southeast
end

February 16 • 10 - 5 pm

Los Angeles Zine Fest - Helms Bakery
8703 Washington Blvd. Culver City
lazinefest.com

February 19 - 24

Earth First! Organizers Conference and
Winter Rendezvous - in the Everglades,
FL

February 23 • 4 pm

Slingshot new volunteer meeting & article
brainstorm for issue #116 3124 Shattuck,
Berkeley

February 28 • 6 pm

San Francisco Critical Mass bike ride -
gather at Justin Herman Plaza

March 1 • 10 - 6 pm

Kitchener-Waterloo Canada Anarchist
bookfair

March 4

Mardi Gras - in Berkeley meet the parade
at People's Park at 3 pm

March 8 •

International Women's Day

March 22 • 10 - 6 pm

19th annual Bay Area Anarchist book fair
- 1260 7th Street Oakland
bayareaanarchistbookfair.wordpress.com/

March 22 • 10 - 6 pm

Sydney, Australia Anarchist book fair -
Gumbramorra Hall

March 23 • 10 - 6 pm

15th Berkeley Anarchist Students of
Theory And Research & Development
Conference - this year's theme is Social
War. UC Berkeley campus - sfbay-anarchists.org/conference

March 29 • 3 pm

Article deadline for Slingshot issue #116
3124 Shattuck Ave. Berkeley
slingshot@tao.ca

April 1

St. Stupid's Day Parade in San Francisco

April 4 - 6

All Power to the Imagination conference.
New College of Florida Sarasota -
allpowertotheimagination.com

April 15

Steal Something from Work Day

April 20 • 4:20 pm

Light one up - cannabis rallies in Denver,
Washington, DC and elsewhere.

April 20 • 1 - 6 pm

People's Park 45h Anniversary concert
Berkeley

April 22

Earth Day

April 26

Bristol, UK Anarchist Book fair
bristolanarchistbookfair.org

May 1

International Worker's Day -

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SLINGSHOT



**First Bloom
Issue #115**

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